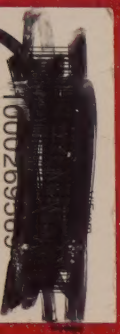

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THE ART OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

STUDIES

BY
WILHELM R. VALENTINER

TRANSLATED BY
MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER

ILLUSTRATED

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
1914

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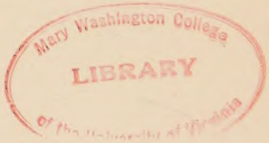

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To
WILHELM BODE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS American edition of *Aus der niederländischen Kunst*, which is to appear simultaneously in Germany (Bruno Cassirer, Berlin), contains two articles that are not included in the German edition: the one on Govert and Raphel Camphuysen, which was first published in Art in America, and the hitherto unpublished list of the Rembrandts in American collections.

Several of the other articles were first published in German, French, or English periodicals: the one on Quentin Metsys in Les Anciens Arts de Flandres, Rembrandt at the Latin School in the Jahrbuch der königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Rembrandt's Blinding of Samson in the Burlington Magazine, and Rembrandt's Representations of Susanna, part of the article on van Dyck, and the one on Rubens in the Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.

The lists of the paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, and van Dyck in American collections are possibly not complete. Although most of the works of these artists that have come from Europe during the last twenty years have been traced to public or private collections,

there may be some in private hands that are still unknown to me.

I feel it to be a piece of good fortune that a book written in a foreign language should be presented to the public in a translation which not only does full justice to the author's meaning but has a charm of its own, and I beg to express to Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer my most grateful appreciation.

WILHELM R. VALENTINER.

Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York,
June, 1914.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

IT should be explained, I think, that as, at the outbreak of the war, Mr. Valentiner remained in Germany to do his part for his country as a volunteer, he has seen none of the pages of this book in type. Nor has he seen in their present form any of the illustrations, which, owing to the different size of the American volume, have necessarily been made anew. Before he left New York, however, he read in the manuscript almost the whole of the translation, and sanctioned the few changes which would be found were it compared with the original.

It was not possible to translate more literally the German title of the book, *Aus der niederländischen Kunst.* In English "the Netherlands" is the true name of the kingdom to which, colloquially, we give the name of its chief provinces, Holland. "The Low Countries" is the only English term that covers the Flemish as well as the Dutch provinces, Belgium as well as the Netherlands. This distinction has, of course, been respected in the text as well as in the title of the book.

The names of many Dutch and Flemish artists were written in their time in diverse ways, and are so written

in our own. I have been careful to preserve the forms selected by Mr. Valentiner excepting in a few cases where another form chances to be much more familiar to the readers of English. In writing the names of Dutchmen and Flemings I have, as is proper, written *van* with a small *v*, but in citing American names of Dutch origin I have used, as is customary with us, a capital *V*.

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

9 West Tenth Street,
New York,
September, 1914.

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THE ART OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

DIRK BOUTS, THE FEAST OF THE PASSOVER

KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

I

LINEAR COMPOSITION IN DUTCH ART

COMING for the first time from Germany or Belgium into the Netherlands, we are surprised by the grave and simple character of the landscape, especially in the regions where art assumed its finest forms, the two provinces of South and North Holland. Instead of a hilly country clothed with vegetation of various kinds and cut up into fields of different colours, we find wide monotonous levels of meadowland intersected only by narrow ditches or broader canals running off toward the horizon. The roads, bordered by rows of slender trees, mostly elms and ashes, run parallel with these intersecting lines or, along the coast, are flanked on the seaward side by sand-dunes scantily overgrown. From the slightest elevation, even from the highroad, we see a symmetrical network of lines which, bounded in the most impressive way by the level unbroken sweep of the horizon, gives the landscape a serious character instinct with the quality which in the language of art we call style. Only the sand-dunes disturb the uniformity, swelling and sinking as though the sea were repeating its rhyth-

mic motion for a last time on the land and thus effecting a transition to the reposefulness of the interior country.

The disposition of the buildings accords with the way in which the land is thus divided by horizontal lines, marked out into wide rectangles. When a village is viewed from a distance the roofs seem to cling close to the soil in continuous stretches, for the houses dare present no wide expanses to the sea wind, and the massive body of a church, lifting the lines of the houses somewhat higher, often makes more effect than its tower. When we walk the streets the regularity of the arrangement grows still more striking. Even in elder days the houses were commonly placed side by side in straight rows, parallel with the walled canals. The windows are so regularly inserted that, looking along the façades, the sills blend into long horizontal lines with which the level roof-ridges generally correspond. Since the eighteenth century these roof-ridges have for the most part supplanted the more ancient, less weather-proof gables, and now they assist the effect of breadth in the houses. In the larger buildings string-courses of lighter coloured stone usually aid the horizontal accentuation. In contrast are the determining perpendiculars — the jambs of the windows, the dividing lines between house and house, the trunks of the trees along the canals, and the piles that at intervals reinforce their retaining walls.

The ground-plan of the individual house, like that of the town or village, is extremely simple, and may as a rule be resolved into a few geometrical figures for which the lines of the canals supply the main axes. These arrangements go back to earlier periods when the

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, ECCE HOMO

ENGRAVING

unlikeness of the plans of house and town to those of neighbouring countries, and especially to the much more complicated plans of Germany, was already apparent.

This intimate relationship in style to the landscape sprang in a great degree from practical necessity. The canals, straight-lined from the first of course, supplied, as has been said, the keynote for a severely regular way of building, and the damp insalubrious climate of the lowland prohibited the angles and bays of the German dwelling-house. An effect of cleanliness and symmetry made up for the lack of an expression of comfort in the exterior of such houses.

Their interiors corresponded to their rectilinear plans. Reconstructing an apartment of the typical time of the seventeenth century, we wonder at the bare, straight-lined arrangement. A square fireplace occupies, perhaps, the centre of one wall, a pair of plainly framed pictures or maps hanging symmetrically beside it. In the corner a stiffly shaped chair stands on a podium; the whitewashed wall behind it is covered by a rectangular piece of ornamented leather, and the other walls are divided by the decided lines of the windows, under which stands a simple table, and those of the door, the great, widely projecting wardrobe, and the cupboard containing the bed.

Going a step farther, from the practical to the artistic, and considering either monumental architecture or the industrial arts, we find the same sense of style. The great Gothic churches and municipal halls; the buildings of both the chief architects of the Late-Renaissance and Baroque periods, Hendrik de Keyser and Jacob van Campen; the modern buildings of Berlage,

the architect of the Amsterdam Exchange; all, compared with the contemporaneous structures of neighbouring countries, have a bald and simple character — a plan that may be resolved into a few large rectangles and an elevation where the vertical and horizontal lines of construction are plainly shown and the undecorated fields of walls are emphasized. Or let us consider certain products of the minor arts and crafts. In the designing of furniture there is now a return — with a modern interpretation, it is true — to the principles of that Baroque art which in Holland, with its strongly constructional shapes and its simple geometrical ornamentation, differed in so radical a way from the pompously contorted forms it assumed in other lands. Old Dutch, like modern Dutch, bookbinding is also marked by a love for linear patterns sparsely filling the field. The outer lines follow the edge of the cover, and toward the middle surround a few diagonally placed rectangles one of which contains the title. To their ceramic tiles, again, other countries have given a rich variety of shapes but Holland only one, the square shape; only in Holland does the plain white ground play so large a part in the general effect; only here is the pattern restricted to so small a field, or is sameness in the ornament — for example, in the filling of the corners — so marked a feature of the design.

But the most striking proof of the existence, as a national characteristic, of a sense of style consistent in respect to nature and to art, speaks from the unconscious employment of the linear scheme of Dutch landscape by the Dutch painter whenever he has concerned himself with stylized composition. This tendency has

REMBRANDT, ECCE HOMO

ETCHING

marked the art of every period from the earliest to the latest — from Geertgen van Haarlem's to Lucas van Leyden's and Rembrandt's and down to the modern work of Jongkind and van Gogh. As in Italy the triangle, so in Holland the rectangle, is used by preference to turn a fragment of nature into a composition complete in itself. Laterally the rectangle is formed by architectural or natural side-scenes; or, in the case of groups, by the vertical lines of their outermost figures and those that are prolonged above their heads. If a general outline is lacking, separate parts of the picture are composed into rectangles; in the representation of single figures it may even be that the upper and lower parts of the body are enclosed in such a pattern. Usually the artist avoids putting the geometrical diagram directly in the centre; in the Baroque time especially he pushes it to one side, to preserve the effect of the accidental in nature. Of course I do not imply that this kind of composition may be found in all Dutch paintings; but for five centuries, all through the long development of this school of art, it so often reappears, particularly when the greatest masters are trying to formulate the laws of composition, that it seems the necessary expression of the sense of style of the painters of Holland. In the stead of the innumerable examples that might be given I can mention only one or two pictures by a few leading artists.

A recognized trait of the two Dutch Primitives of chief importance, Dirk Bouts and Geertgen van Haarlem, is their preference for making their figures, when there are many in the composition, all of the same height and ranging them almost without movement side by side, an

ordering which in itself emphasizes the lines of height and breadth. A typical example is the Feast of the Passover of Bouts in the Berlin Museum. The figures might be almost exactly enclosed in a quadrangle which is pushed somewhat away from the middle of the picture so that the symmetrical effect may not be conspicuous. Occasionally we find that the early Dutchmen, influenced perhaps by compositions of southern origin, strive also for the triangular, the pyramidal, arrangement; but just these exceptional pictures prove that it did not quite suit their sense of style, for emphatic vertical lines accompany the diagonal ones and enhance their effect. An instance of this is the Gathering of the Manna of Dirk Bouts, in the Pinakothek at Munich, with the triangular group in the centre and the upright figures on either hand.

Naturally, examples of stylized composition may most often be found in pictures where the figures are brought into harmony with the severe lines of an architectural background. Well-known early pictures of this kind are the Holy Fellowship of Geertgen van Haarlem in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam and, in the same collection, the Virgo inter Virgines, the painter of which we call by its name. And an engraving of Lucas van Leyden's with an architectural background — the Ecce Homo — may be cited as a specimen of the many-figured compositions that were in vogue at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Perhaps a print like this, where amid long rows of stiff figures the principal group is scarcely distinguished, may not strike us as one of the great engraver's happiest compositions. But if it had not corresponded precisely with the Dutch

TER BORCH, THE FORTUNE TELLER

ALBERTINA, VIENNA

sense of style Rembrandt would not have imitated it a century later in a familiar etching, the large Ecce Homo of 1655, where the architecture, built up of rectangles, still more distinctly gives the keynote for the disposal of the groups and single figures.

If has often been remarked that at the time when Rembrandt produced this etching, a time when he more frankly strove for stylized composition than at an earlier or a later period, he seems in certain works to have combined his figures into squares. This tendency to stylizing he shared in the sixth and seventh decades of the seventeenth century with a number of the greatest Dutchmen such as Pieter de Hooch, Jan Vermeer, and Gerard Ter Borch. It was the time of the finest flowering of the art of Holland, when the greatest ability expressed itself in the simplest possible form. In choosing this form the artist, instinctively falling back upon the art of the best of the early Dutchmen, returned to the accentuation of vertical and horizontal lines. In many exterior and interior views by Pieter de Hooch and Jan Vermeer this linear scheme is immediately apparent in the structure of the houses, in the decoration of the rooms, in the disposition of the figures, even in the construction of the figures themselves, and the rectangle clearly shows as the geometrical basis upon which the composition is built up. Moreover, a study like the Fortune Teller of Ter Borch in the Albertina Collection at Vienna — a drawing which has something almost academic in the straight lines of the contour and in the adaptation of the body to geometrical forms — is a proof that the artist did not thus stylize in a wholly unconscious way.

In fact, the decline of Dutch painting followed very quickly upon its most classical phase, for even the ablest artists could not long continue to combine stylized design of a large and simple kind with a vital rendering of nature. French art was able to win the influence that it exerted upon Dutch art in the last third of the seventeenth century because it accorded with the tendency of the Hollanders toward severe straight-lined forms. In their linear scheme the rectangular gardens in the style of Le Nôtre, such as we see in the backgrounds of the unsatisfactory late pictures of Pieter de Hooch, are not very different from Dutch gardens of the preceding period, nor, in the same sense, are the columned porticos in which an aristocratic society disports itself unlike the plain interiors where simple burgher folk took their ease. Only, the external scheme no longer truthfully expresses the inner meaning.

If, finally, we turn to modern painting and seek, in the work of the ablest artists, for proof of a sense of style inspired by the landscape of Holland, we have no trouble in finding examples. With Vincent van Gogh, and still more with Jongkind, we constantly see that, to give repose to the elements of the picture, they lay stress upon the lines of height and breadth. If these painters are compared with the Frenchmen with whom they grew up, their pronounced Dutch character shows distinctly in the differing linear arrangement of their pictures, and by reason of this difference they unconsciously stand as supporters of the great national tradition.

JONGKIND, RIVER VIEW

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

II

THE CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF THE NETHERLANDS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A HISTORY of architecture in the Netherlands would necessarily take into account the results of the unending struggle of the people with the encroaching waters. It would consider the achievements of hydraulic engineering and the influence that they exerted upon architectural monuments, for the building of canals and dikes helped both to determine the artistic character of the landscape and to develop in the architect the qualities that it demanded of him — a sense for sober and correct ways of building, for regularity in planning, and for the accurate estimating of structural strength.

The earliest constructions of which we know in the Netherlands were works of engineering. When Rome conquered the country of the Batavians they were living upon hills which they had thrown up along the coast and which still exist to-day, notably in Groningen and Friesland. So vast in extent are these so-called *Terpen* or *Wierden*, in certain regions stretching out for miles, that the labour of building them has been

not unreasonably compared with the task of erecting the pyramids of Egypt.

The earliest canals seem to have been the work of the Romans, although a systematic development of inland waterways was postponed to a later day and accomplished by the Netherlanders themselves. With this exception the Romans built in the Netherlands much as they did in their other provinces, constructing camps and citadels, market-places, temples, and cemeteries, which, of course, can hardly be credited to Dutch architecture. Some of them still survive in ruins — submerged in the sea like the Nehalennia temple near Domburg and the citadel of Brittenburg near Katwijk-Buiten, or on inland sites like the Forum of Hadrian near Voorburg and the citadel of Romburg at Leyden.

In the Netherlands, as in other Germanic countries, the earliest efforts at self-expression in art followed the great racial migrations which, fertilizing the land with new blood, developed new powers and energies. Of the result, however, exceptionally little is known in just these regions. The Franks, the Saxons, and the Frisians distributed themselves over the territory of the Holland of to-day in a way that held good ever after, and in the planning of their houses soon displayed their racial peculiarities. Even now the farmsteads of the three races differ, in so far that among the Frisians the dwelling is separated from the stables and barns and among the Saxons is united with them under one roof, while among the leading people, the Franks, the separation of the domestic and the farm buildings is but partially effected.

The houses still had no touch of art. They were

P. SAENREDAM, CHURCH OF ST. MARY, UTRECHT

AMSTERDAM

caves, pile-dwellings, or mere huts of mud and wattle. Although nothing is left of them we may imagine their aspect, for even now in certain parts of Holland similar primitive ways of building survive — for example, at Assen, where pile-dwellings are still erected, and at Maastricht, where houses are excavated in the soft marl of the Pietersberg.

The first impulse toward a somewhat more ambitious manner of building was the desire for a waterproof structure for the worship of the gods. Early Christian sources declare that, especially in Friesland and Drenthe, there were numerous heathen temples containing statues that stood on the high altars in honour of Wotan and Thor. They also tell how the monks came, shattered the figures, overturned the altars, and in the stead of the temples erected small wooden churches, and how, when the heathen took up arms, returned, and destroyed the churches of the little congregations, the conflict long surged hither and thither before the Frisians abandoned a religion which, as it seems to us to-day, gave a soul to local nature and valued human wisdom less than a sensitiveness to the hidden life of field and forest.

We may form an approximate idea of the heathen temple from recent comparative investigations which have established, for the pre-Carolingian period, the existence of a common style in all the northerly Germanic countries and have found a clue to their temple architecture in the surviving ancient churches of Iceland. According to the description given by Albrecht Haupt,

> They consisted of two contiguous rectangular rooms. The smaller choir-like room was intended for the erection of the altars

of the gods and was the place of actual sacrifice; in the larger room the worshippers assembled, and here, drawn up after the sacrifice in long rows along the walls about the central hearth, they celebrated the sacrificial feast under the leadership of the priest who had his official seat against the wall toward the room in which the altar stood.

This ground-plan seems to have influenced the arrangement of the earliest Christian churches. Indeed, it is obvious that, in spite of all spiritual disagreements, the Christian architect must in practical life have conformed as much as possible to existing conditions. According to Haupt, the earliest wooden churches of the Netherlands, which can be reconstructed upon the evidence of the oldest existing Scandinavian buildings, consisted like the pagan temple of two rooms of unequal size, but these rooms were connected at first by a narrow opening and later by the chancel-arch uniting choir and nave. It was an influence from the south, the influence of the basilican type of church, that first developed a more elaborate arrangement with a narrow choir and a broad nave. Then chapels were sometimes added to the choir, and occasionally a vestibule stretched in front of the nave.

Nor is the existence of a consistent Early-Germanic art of the north our only warrant for assuming analogies between the early buildings of the Netherlands and of Scandinavia. The two countries were in actual and close relations. The Frisians were often allied with the Northmen, and in the early Middle Ages several Danish kings believed that they had a right to East Friesland and North Holland. Moreover, coins have been found, struck at Dorestadt near Utrecht, which show a resemblance to those of Danish and of Finnish origin.

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AMSTERDAM

In the Netherlands Christian civilization spread more tardily and more slowly than elsewhere — roughly speaking, between the sixth and the eighth centuries; and even then it was unable for a long time to establish firm roots except in the southern parts of the country. For an understanding of the development of Dutch art it is important to remember that during the Middle Ages and even later the Netherlands lay on the confines of European civilization, and that, strong though the influence of neighbouring peoples was in the border districts, frequently though the overlordship changed in the Netherlands themselves, the old stocks were able to preserve their independence. Thus it had already been in Roman times, for although in the days of Drusus and Germanicus the authority of Rome imposed itself even upon the Frisians, it was a precarious power as the uprising of the Batavians made plain. In fact, Roman civilization merely touched the Netherlands. Afterward, the disseminators of Christianity were wise enough to accommodate themselves more to local conditions. In the Belgium of to-day, where the civilization of Rome had won a firmer footing, they established their bishoprics in lieu of the old Roman provinces and thereby furthered the spread of the Roman leaven, but farther north they did not thus connect themselves with the vague tradition. The only bishopric founded in the northern Low Countries, Utrecht, lay in the territory of a purely Germanic race and could therefore soon become a local and a national centre. It was a long time, truly, before art here attained to independent utterance. In architecture, as in the other arts, the beginnings of a national style are not to be discerned

until near the end of the Middle Ages, long after the artistic growth of the southern Low Countries had reached maturity. From the time of the advent of Roman civilization these southern regions had maintained a lead of almost a hundred years, a lead that was still perceptible in the time of the van Eycks and even later, even in the time of Rubens. But if a national art developed more slowly in the north, it stood there upon broader foundations, for nothing had hampered the unfolding of the individuality of the people.

The clearest manifestation of its unlikeness to the art of the southern Low Countries during the first half of the Middle Ages was the adoption and adaptation of elements of German — that is, of Rhenish and Westphalian — origin. One of the earliest Christian churches of which we hear in Holland was founded at Utrecht in the eighth century; and the fact that the initiative came from Cologne is important as a signpost, for during the subsequent Carolingian and Romanesque periods Rhenish architecture exerted a determining influence in the Netherlands. It was from the Rhine that the art of Charlemagne reached them. While they were under this great ruler the political constellations were so favourable that it seemed as though their time for a high development of civilization had arrived. After he united all western Germany and the Netherlands to his empire, the regions between Cologne and the mouths of the Rhine became the heart of his realm. Aix-la-Chapelle, as every one knows, was his favourite place of residence, and at Liège a school was founded that soon grew famous. When one of the important trade-routes of the empire led

up along the course of the Rhine, trade seemed to develop in the Netherlands, especially among the Frisians. Then arose the oldest mediæval building that still exists in Holland, the palace-chapel of Charlemagne on the Valkhof at Nymegen, which, like the little cathedral, often called a chapel, at Aix-la-Chapelle, was attached to a palace with a great banqueting hall. And that Carolingian civilization did not stop at this point is proved by a building in the far north of Holland that was long forgotten, the Church of St. Walburg at Groningen. It was begun in the year 811 and was torn down in 1619, but is preserved in old pictures that have enabled Peters to reconstruct its original plan. Deriving from the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, it had the same centralized plan and was of similar importance but, like the chapel at Nymegen, not quite so large.

In spite of its small size this chapel at Nymegen makes an imposing effect, greatly aided by its beautiful site on the last spur of the Rhenish hills, the river Waal running in wide curves at the foot of the slope. Above its elevated central part lies a low dark vault with polygonal sides, built of clumsily squared stones intermingled with bricks some of which are Roman tiles bearing the stamps of the legionaries. In the massive design, the colossal walls, we may trace the spirit of the mighty but still half-barbarous ruler of Europe who, here as at Aix-la-Chapelle, drew upon his memories of the south, and especially of Ravenna, but used them in novel creations of a bold northern character.

For two centuries the buds of this Carolingian civilization unfolded no farther in the Netherlands. The

country could not stand up against the repeated attacks of the Northmen who again and again destroyed all signs of renewed vitality. Better times for the Netherlands did not return until, under the Hohenstaufens, architectural activity spread along the valley of the Rhine, producing cathedrals of the greatest beauty. Akin in style to these Rhenish structures were two churches that then arose at Maastricht and Roermond, the most important that have been preserved in Holland from the Romanesque period. Even finer, perhaps, was once the Church of St. Mary at Utrecht. Torn down in the year 1814, it is shown in the drawings of the architectural painters of the seventeenth century, notably in those of Pieter Saenredam and Lambert Doomer which have been published by Hofstede de Groot. Probably it was erected by the founder of the cathedrals of Mainz and Speyer, the greatly gifted Emperor Henry IV, in fulfilment, if tradition speaks truly, of a vow that he would build a church to the Virgin because he had injured the cathedral of Milan in taking the city. The likeness in plan between St. Mary's and the Church of San Ambrogio at Milan may be thought to support this story. In construction St. Mary's, which must have had an importance for the Romanesque architecture of the Netherlands such as the cathedral of Utrecht had for the Gothic, was a vestibuled church designed according to what the Germans call the *gebundene System* — that most perfect solution of the problems of mediæval architecture, in which the crossing of nave and transept is taken as the unit of construction and two bays of the aisles correspond to one in the loftier nave.

CHURCH OF ST. SERVATIUS, MAASTRICHT

The churches at Roermond and Maastrict — the finest, as has been said, that remain from their period — are admirable examples of the intrinsic strength and animated grouping of the fully developed Romanesque style. St. Servatius at Maastricht is the more elaborate of the two in design, and in the Gothic period was further enriched by the addition of chapels. The massive structure with its five towers — simple in plan, splendidly separating itself in elevation — forms an harmonious, vigorously animated silhouette. The double crypts, the dwarf arcade around the semicircular apse, and the square towers pierced by rows of windows near the top, are characteristic features of the architecture of the Lower Rhine countries, and by way of Maastricht were transmitted to Belgium and especially to Tournai.

Maastricht still possesses another great Romanesque building, the Church of Our Lady, important for its interior effect and particularly impressive in its great crypt borne by three rows of slender columns. Outside, however, it is not comparable to St. Servatius. Although it dates from the eleventh century an older building, of the end of the tenth century, was unskilfully utilized in its construction, so that the main front now consists of an over-lofty featureless mass of wall flanked by two small staircase turrets.

Besides these buildings in the southern part of Holland there must be noted in the north, in Friesland and Groningen, a little group of Romanesque village churches built on an unusual plan which, as Dehio has pointed out, is also to be found in Anjou and in Westphalia. They have no aisles, a quadrangular choir with a flat

east-end, and barrel vaults. The thick walls, sloped on the outside, the small windows, and the plain stumpy towers give them a gloomy fortress-like air. Probably these Angevin arrangements were introduced from Westphalia, for the relations of this region with Anjou are apparent in other fields as well as in architecture and were brought about, perhaps, by the English who ruled over Anjou in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If during the first half of the Middle Ages the architecture of the Netherlands is still incomplete and cannot yet be separated from the art of adjacent countries, from the time of the upgrowth of the cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the picture shows more variety, and in the fifteenth century we find architectural enterprise as vigorous in the Netherlands as in any of the chief centres of Late-Gothic art. The true flowering of Dutch mediæval church architecture, contemporaneous with the beginnings of the art of painting, survives to-day in almost every picture of a Dutch city, for the principal church was usually Gothic, and in most cases there were also fortified towers or town gates of the same period. Numberless are the Gothic churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but here, to make plain their general character, only a few of the chief examples can be cited.

The finest of them all is the cathedral at Utrecht. The incomparable choir was built at about the same time as the cathedral of Cologne and, indeed, in conjunction with it; the somewhat later brick tower speaks more of Flemish influence. This cathedral was a beacon of the church for the whole country, and from

CHURCH OF ST. PANCRAS, LEYDEN

the time of the van Eycks' Ghent altar-piece it constantly appears, symbolically introduced, in the landscape backgrounds of Early-Dutch pictures. Most of the principal churches of the other large cities of Holland are known from the landscape paintings of the seventeenth century. In the pictures of van Goyen, for example, we usually see the tall tower of the Great Church of the Hague, now replaced, unfortunately, by a clumsy iron spire, or the lofty massive naves of the chief churches of Leyden, St. Peter's and the Hooglandsche Kerk, also called the Church of St. Pancras.

The distant views of Jacob Ruisdael and the city pictures of Gerrit Berckheyden have made familiar the gigantic Church of St. Bavon at Haarlem with its graceful *flèche*.* The towers of both the principal Gothic churches of Delft, the Old Church and the New Church, often rise beyond the courtyards of Pieter de Hooch. And in the backgrounds of numerous paintings by Albert Cuyp we meet the Great Church of Dordrecht, its unfinished square tower crowned by a provisional seventeenth-century termination. Moreover, all who have visited Holland must remember the Old Church at Amsterdam, for its finely proportioned tower is a feature in the first impression one gets on leaving the railroad station, and also the so-called New Church on the Dam, only a little later in date, where

*For want of a better, I use this word to indicate the openwork spire which on continental churches often stands above the intersection of nave and choir. The German term is *Dachreiter*, "roof-rider", explanatory and picturesque. We may suppose that there is no good English equivalent (although "lantern" is sometimes used) because a *flèche* rarely if ever occurs in England where even the largest mediæval churches were kept so low that a great tower could be made the central feature of the composition. — TRANSLATOR.

the bare walls are broken by enormous windows striking even in an exterior view. With these churches the Church of St. James at 'S Hertogenbosch (Bois de Duc) and the Church of St. Nicholas at Kampen must be named as two of the largest with five aisles. All of them date in greater part from the fourteenth and the end of the thirteenth century and were finished in the fifteenth.

The character of the Gothic churches of Holland is clearly revealed when we contrast them with Belgian buildings. To be frank, the comparison is not in Holland's favour. The cathedrals of the southern Low Countries, subjected to French influences, display all the splendours of Late-Gothic art. Rich and brilliant is the decoration of the surfaces, in animated fashion the various parts of building group themselves together, and the pompous bright interiors are filled with a spirit of joyous life. In Holland there are no such intoxicating effects as in the cathedral of Antwerp or in St. Gudule at Brussels. In Holland no one has ever been impelled to speak, as in Belgium, of the Flamboyant style or to use the sonorous word "cathedral," although several of the principal Dutch churches surpass the Flemish in size.

In fact, if we consider the Dutch churches only from the standpoint of architectural history, they are balder and less interesting than the contemporary buildings of any neighbouring country. Too large, and almost clumsy and rustic of aspect, they look like magnified village churches. Their construction shows no complexities, for their stone vaults, dangerous undertakings

G. BERKNEYDE, CHURCH OF ST. BAVON, HAARLEM

LONDON

because of the instability of the soil, were added, not very skilfully, at a later day. In many respects, moreover, these churches often look unfinished. The towers in particular were seldom completed in Gothic days, for the rise of the cities in the fifteenth century was followed by a period of unrest and by the religious cleavage which, at the time of the Reformation, hindered the completion of gigantic religious edifices. And, it may be added, beautiful buildings often fail of their intended effect because of the introduction of the novel arrangements of Protestant congregations. Such is the case with the church at Goes, now divided by a wall through the middle into two parts, and with the transept of the cathedral of Utrecht which has been altered into a Reformed church. Moreover, nature has worked more destructively here than elsewhere. Storms shattered certain towers, like the one at Alkmaar, and the nave of the cathedral of Utrecht; and in other buildings the original wooden ceilings, generally used instead of stone vaults, fell a prey to fire together with parts of the superstructure and of the choir. Often the sandstone ornamentation with which the customary brickwork was at times enlivened has not withstood the weather; and where only sandstone was used, as in the Maastricht region, it has so disintegrated as to demand renovations amid which scarcely anything of the old structure remains.

In short, at a first hasty glance there seems little in the way of praise to be said of these churches which, now that only a small part of them is occupied by the congregation, seem doubly arrogant in their excessive size. Nevertheless it is here that the individuality in

style of the art of the Netherlands first expressed itself, earlier than in painting or in sculpture. Here, in the still undeveloped simplicity of a primitive art, we find the characteristics which afterward came to such admirable development in the painting of the great period — an innate strength proper to the whole nation, a puritanical temperament recognizing only realities, and above all a mastery of pictorial effect, always better understood by the Dutch than architectural effect.

These buildings owe their imposing air mainly to the simple cubical shape of their parts, to the exceptional height and breadth of the three aisles, which are not combined in any strictly prescribed way, to the great undecorated wall spaces, and to the gigantic undivided window openings. The body of the church usually seems too large in comparison with the tower which is seldom finished and is treated, so to say, for its own sake or is confused in idea with a *flèche;* too large also in comparison with the surrounding houses which we know to have been much smaller in the old days than either French or German houses, while the churches yielded nothing in size to those of other lands.

In village churches, especially in Zeeland, strong buttresses flanking the walls and a primitive square or sometimes six-sided tower increase the massiveness of effect. Generally there are buttresses also at the corners of the tower, often spreading so widely that they seem to support it on a sloping pedestal. The plain pointed windows with which it is pierced on each side give an idea of the great thickness of the walls, due in the beginning to the unskilfulness of the builder but afterward retained for artistic reasons. On the

other hand, in these village churches and just as often in the larger ones the windows of the aisles, being carried very low down as they are in Dutch houses, add an air of comfort to the monumental effect. One advantage of the use of wooden vaults or flat wooden ceilings was that the architect, with no great weight to support, could give his interior unusual breadth and its pillars a wide spacing. And this abundance of space and light, expressing a taste that Late-Gothic architecture everywhere reveals, could here be enhanced by a more open fenestration of the clerestory than a stone vault would have permitted.

The distinctive beauty of these buildings lies, however, not so much in their construction as in their correspondence in spirit with their environment and in their pictorially effective composition. Delightful from a painter's point of view is above all the grouping of the different parts of the structure. Commonly the large churches lack a dominating and unifying feature, for in no branch of effort was balanced composition the strong side of the Dutch artist. Not only are the aisles and the nave separately roofed but usually each bay of the aisle has its own roof, and the diversified picture created by these peaked and saddle roofs is enhanced by the coverings of the apsidal chapels or of smaller accessory buildings along the sides of the church. The five-aisled churches in particular seem to fall into varied masses of distinct buildings crowded together and, in form and in material, so happily harmonized with the surrounding houses that they have no look of isolation. In a Dutch city the church, in any near view, stands out much less prominently from the street

picture than it does in Belgium. And it is precisely in this regard paid to the environment in the designing of a church that the art of the Dutch architect shows to the best advantage.

Even the uninstructed traveller in Holland immediately perceives the skill displayed in combining the church with the silhouette of the city square, or in using it to close a street perspective, or in so building up church and street along the edge of a canal that, with the surrounding trees, they mirror themselves in the water. Nor can he fail to note the delicate feeling shown in harmonizing the form and the colour of the material with the adjacent buildings and, indeed, with nature as a whole, in considering in the choice of the small bricks the play of light on the water and the shimmer of sunshine on the leaves of the elms, and in leading up through the lighter tones of the lithic adornments to the white doors and windows of the houses. These charming street compositions seem to have been arranged by the architect especially to serve as models for the painter. So it was only natural that a distinct class of landscape painters should devote themselves to the rendering of such views, and that others should discover the beauty of the church interiors, equally pictorial in their charm of light and colour.

The chief sources of our pleasure in one of these interiors are the great clear wall spaces, where every play of light is apparent, and the fine simple harmonies of colour — the white of the walls, the beautiful brown of the wooden stalls and ceilings composing with the golden yellow of the brass chandeliers and choir screens, a few reddish spots where the tile pavement is visible, and

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CHOIR, CHURCH OF ST. BAVON, HAARLEM

perhaps also the warm dark green of the great curtain which in former days shut off the nave from the choir. These tones offered material enough for a rich variety of compositions by such masters in the painting of church interiors as, to name but a few, Saenredam, de Witte, van Vliet, and Houckgeest.

Originally, it should be said, the interior decoration of these churches was not quite as simple as it has appeared since the seventeenth century. Under the whitewash, which from the Gothic time onward did, indeed, cover the greater part of the walls, remains of mural paintings have here and there been brought to light, proving a desire for a varied spot of colour or a gracefull decorative pattern in certain conspicuous places. The pillars of the choir were usually painted with brocade or carpet patterns that served instead of the actual stuffs displayed on feast-days only. Here and there, especially in the choir, devotional pictures which included portraits of their donors were hung about on the walls in a naïve irregular way. The capitals of the pillars and the keystones of the vaults were generally ornamented with colour, and in some churches, as in the one at Gouda and the Old Church at Amsterdam, a colouristic treatment of the windows in the grand style was begun. But this was not carried far, for, in the retarded development of Gothic architecture in Holland, interior decorations were completed only at the end of the fifteenth century or during the sixteenth, when ecclesiastical glass-painting was in its decline.

Most often, however, this sporadic decoration of an interior was concentrated on the ceilings. The wooden

vaults — the art of building which was evidently nurtured in the Netherlands by the art of the ship-builder — are often bound and woven together by geometrical patterns so skilful that in themselves they produce a highly decorative effect; and this was enhanced by carrying over them a graceful design of spiky leafage which grows from the capitals of the pillars up to the crown of the vaults. At times, again, the whole ceiling is decorated with Biblical pictures broadly handled and painted in tempera directly on the boards; or the semicircular vaulting of the choir, which takes the eye as one enters the church, bears a picture of the Last Judgment. The effect of these ceilings with their strong tones in lively contrast to the colourless walls is best appreciated in the church at Naarden, not far from Amsterdam, which was painted in the first third of the sixteenth century by an artist who, poor though he was in invention, was rich in decorative ability.

A similar taste in decoration marks the exterior of the churches and especially their spires and *flèches* which, again, should be judged from the painter's rather than the architect's point of view. As the solid towers begun in the thirteenth or fourteenth century proved unstable or for pecuniary reasons were left unfinished, their torsoes were topped in the fifteenth century or later by graceful openwork terminations upon which the wind had no purchase; or, if a tower had not even been begun, the crossing was taken as the dominant point and adorned by a tall *flèche*.

The spire soon became a typical feature of Dutch churches; and as the Late-Gothic style, which remained

in use until the end of the sixteenth century, was directly succeeded by various versions of the Baroque without the intervention of a purer Renaissance style, forms like the bulbous spire, already employed in Late-Gothic, had a long life in which to develop toward perfection. An incomparable taste determined the proportions of the different stories of the tower as well as its outline and the individual motives of its ornamentation. Thus, as is also the case with the products of the industrial arts of Holland, the adornment is not spread over the whole work but is economically concentrated in a single place, there to be all the more carefully applied in an ingenious elaborate design. This embellishment of the spire or *flèche* above the massive unadorned substructure may be compared to the delightful ornaments with which the simply attired, wide-petticoated Dutch peasant enlivens her headgear at certain points.

With these general characteristics there must be noted certain local diversities in the Gothic church architecture of the Dutch. But first it may be said, as has already been implied, that genuine Late-Gothic work, in the sense of a luxuriance of design running into the fantastic, nowhere exists in Holland. Until about the year 1500, moreover, the Hollanders built in the simple Gothic style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so that if documentary evidence were lacking we should fix too early a date for their buildings, especially those in the smaller towns, and above all in Zeeland.

In the larger Dutch cities the three-aisled basilica predominates, built of brick with wooden ceilings and

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round pillars; such, among others, are the Old Church and the New Church at Amsterdam, St. Bavon at Haarlem, the Great Church at Rotterdam, and the Church of St. Lawrence at Alkmaar. Brabant and the adjacent parts of Zeeland hold, in architecture as in painting, a middle place between Holland and Belgium. The chief churches of Breda, Bois le Duc, Goes, Veere, and Bergen op Zoom approach the Belgio-French cathedral type, having sometimes five aisles, apsidal chapels, and a richer development of triforium, window traceries, and flying buttresses. The smaller churches of Zeeland retained until an advanced date the older Early-Gothic type, and have a defiant gloomy air. As a rule they have no side-aisles, the choir ends with a flat wall, and there is no ornamentation. Such a church, uplifting a tower of pronouncedly sloping shape, seems the defender of the village that clusters around it and a seamark for the fisherman.

The churches of the eastern provinces resemble each other less, leaning now toward the Dutch and now toward the Rhenish-Westphalian manner of building. While the round-pillared type rules in the north, the basilican type with rectangular piers is most common in Guelderland and, indeed, in Nymegen, Arnhem, Deventer, and Zutphen. In the Hanse towns of Zwolle and Kampen the Gothic churches, although among the oldest of the thirteenth century, were widened in the fifteenth and retain from the Early-Gothic period only the central alley of the nave.

III

THE HAARLEM SCHOOL OF PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IT was not fortuitous that the greatest painters of seventeenth-century Holland — Frans Hals and Rembrandt — came, the one from Haarlem, the other from Leyden, for in a very literal sense these two cities were the birthplaces of Dutch painting. Although in other Dutch cities individual painters were at work during the Late-Gothic period, shortly before and after the year 1500, only in these two did coherent schools of painting exist at so early a time. As Frans Hals was Rembrandt's senior by a generation, so also the early school of Haarlem had antedated that of Leyden; as at Haarlem the flowering of seventeenth-century art began, so also had it been with the flowering of Primitive art.

Yet we must not imagine too regular an historical sequence, fancying that the art of the great period of Hals and Rembrandt grew directly from that of the earliest masters. More truly, the impetus felt by Primitive painting at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century spent itself with the

passage of two productive generations. A decline set in, as must happen with every people in the course of its general development, after a rapid unfolding of energy, and in this case it was made manifest by the absorption of the public in other concerns, chiefly social and political. The conflict with Spain about religion and trade, which soon led to open war, concentrated the mind of the nation upon questions of subsistence and weaned it from art. Therefore art was forced to struggle for life and, because of its weakness, came under foreign and particularly under Italian influences. Only a few painters of genius like Pieter Breughel the Elder and Antonio Moro, who wandered to Flanders or to still more distant places, kept the national flag flying, and even they could not rescue art from the general decline. Not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the war of liberation in the Netherlands had been virtually fought to an end, did the shallow waters of provincial effort gather themselves into the broad stream that upbore a Frans Hals and a Rembrandt. Then it was in the cities of Hals and Rembrandt, in Haarlem and Leyden, that the new life first awakened, for here, thanks to a great past, art had remained more vigorous than elsewhere during the days of darkness.

The flowering of Dutch painting in its first phase covered approximately the years from 1470 to 1530, but, as we shall see, the beginnings of an independent art may in all probability be found several decades farther back. It is more difficult to set a term for the beginning than for the end of this period. Until lately, indeed, we hardly dared to speak of fifteenth-cen-

tury Dutch painting, so impossible did it seem to distinguish it from the contemporary art of Flanders. While in Flanders the beginnings of an independent art of easel painting coincided with the advent of the van Eyck brothers, Dutch painting freed itself from this sister development only by degrees, and at the outset in a scarcely perceptible fashion. Basing itself upon the great achievements of the Flemings — of the van Eycks, Rogier van der Weyden, and Robert Campin — it took over from them, at first almost literally, the grand style that united in so incomparable a way the delicate technique of miniature painting with the realistic spirit of Burgundian Gothic sculpture. Dirk Bouts, who was the first Early-Dutch painter of importance, might almost as justly be numbered with the Flemings, and his follower Ouwater still worked so entirely in the manner of the van Eycks that we may well wonder whether, had the origin of these two painters not been known, the critical study of their works would have discovered the Dutch characteristics which, nevertheless, are undoubtedly present in their art.

This resemblance between the early painters of Holland and of Flanders is easily understood when we remember that politically the northern and southern Low Countries were regarded as a unit. During the greater part of the fifteenth century, down to the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, both regions belonged to the Duchy of Burgundy, whose princes resided by preference at Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels, where the van Eycks and van der Weyden were at home. Although Holland was an outlying possession, and although its counts as well as its cities were striving for indepen-

dence, in all departments of culture it was affiliated with Flanders, and through Flanders with Burgundy. A change of government, bringing with it greater freedom for the Netherlands, took place in 1477 after the fall of the Duchy of Burgundy. United again, the southern and northern Low Countries passed to the Hapsburgs, the heirs of Mary of Burgundy, and were joined to the German Empire. Then followed the flowering of Early-Dutch art, during the reigns of Maximilian I and Charles V. It is true that the Hapsburgs troubled themselves little about the Netherlands, but the connection with the empire brought these provinces into more vital relations with German culture. In respect to the arts, more manifold ties united them to the Upper Rhine, to Nuremberg, to Suabia, and above all to Cologne which for a long time had been bound to the Low Countries by the ties of trade. We realize how closely the painters of the Low Countries and those of the Lower Rhine lands were related when we find how hard it is in many cases to decide whether pictures painted in the neighbourhood of the year 1500 belong to the one group of artists or to the other.

Meanwhile the connection between the arts of Holland and of Flanders persisted as a factor in the joint development of the two regions; indeed, it again became so close when the school of Antwerp was in its prime, from about 1510 to 1530, that it is difficult now to distinguish the works then produced in Holland from those produced in Flanders. At this time the source of influence was the art of the rich commercial and cosmopolitan city on the Scheldt, which then attracted so many artists from other places. But even then the

Dutch adapted in independent ways the impressions they received, and during the last third of the fifteenth century the art of Holland had had a clearly apparent character of its own, and had even given of its strength to the art of Flanders. The extraordinary achievement of the cities of the southern Low Countries, especially of Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels, in producing during the early and middle years of the fifteenth century a long line of painters of genius, had been followed by a relaxation of energy that profited the north. Here the intellectual conditions had long been prepared for the development of an indigenous form of artistic expression. The cities that had grown up during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, steadily enlarging their liberties, contained a population which from the very first had been marked by strength of character and self-assurance. Never until the last moment before the downfall of a new over-lordship could the Netherlands be prevailed upon to accept it, and always all the elements of their population — the clerical element concentrated in the bishopric of Utrecht, the aristocratic led by the Counts of Holland, and the urban — were striving toward independence. These three elements, representing the strength of the nation, were also the supporters of artistic culture. The cities, where vital energy was strongest, produced the artist; and the chief givers of commissions were, with the *bourgeoisie*, the church, and the aristocracy which supplied some of the incumbents of church offices.

This first flowering of the art of the Netherlands, this Early-Dutch art, may be divided into two periods,

one covering the last third of the fifteenth century and the other the first third of the sixteenth.

In the first of these two periods the school of Haarlem (which alone concerns us here) stands preëminent with Dirk Bouts, Aelbert van Ouwater, and Geertgen tot Sint Jans (Geertgen van Haarlem) as its leaders. Two other painters of eminence were elsewhere at work at the same time — the so-called Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, who lived perhaps at Gouda or at Delft, and Hieronymus Bosch, the great fantastical painter of Bois le Duc. Of these five artists Bosch alone was still active in the second decade of the sixteenth century. In fact, he holds a middle place between the two periods of Early-Dutch painting.

In the second period the school of Leyden, with two great masters, Cornelis Engelbrechtsz and Lucas van Leyden, was of chief importance. But Haarlem still produced a few excellent painters, notably Jan Mostaert and Jan Joest, and it was from this place that the art of painting, now winning for itself a broader footing in Holland, spread to Amsterdam and Utrecht. Jacob Cornelisz is the most important painter of Amsterdam, Jan Scoorel of Utrecht.

I

DIRK BOUTS

Born at Haarlem about the year 1410, Dirk Bouts belonged to the generation that followed the van Eycks and Robert Campin (the Master of Flémalle) and was some ten years younger than Rogier van der Weyden and Jacques Daret. Phlegmatic in temperament, he can hardly have developed early. Probably he went

to Flanders for his training, for there is no reason to believe that before his advent anything of an independent kind was achieved in Holland in the novel art of easel painting while, on the other hand, the beginning of his career coincides precisely with the splendid flowering of the school of Tournai under Robert Campin and van der Weyden. The gaunt and bony aspect and angular movements of his figures, and his efforts to render characteristic types and strongly marked expressions, for the sake of which he often sacrificed beauty, may well indicate that he attached himself especially to van der Weyden. Settling in Haarlem at the end of his student years, at some time after 1440, he gave the first impulse to the development of art in this city. By 1448, however, we find him once more in Flanders, at Louvain, where he seems to have settled permanently, obtaining in the course of time important commissions from the municipality. Here we can follow him in his work from the year 1462 until his death in 1475. But it may confidently be assumed that in spite of his removal to Flanders he kept up relations with his birthplace, for he was still held in lively remembrance at Haarlem in the time of van Mander* — it was still known in which house he had lived; and, as we shall see, his style was carried on in a number of pictures that were painted at Haarlem in the 'seventies or at earliest in the 'sixties of the fifteenth century.

No product of the years that Bouts spent in Haarlem prior to 1448 is known to us, and probably little of importance survives from this early period, for all of his existing pictures that can be dated belong between the

*Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboek.* Amsterdam, 1604.

'fifties and the 'seventies and with these the others must be classed. The total number, about twenty-five, is considerable as compared with the legacies of other Primitive masters; nor need this fact surprise us, for the pictures themselves bear instant witness to an industrious, an indefatigable, painter. Moreover, long years of activity were vouchsafed him.

Dirk Bouts has rightly been ranked with the greatest of the Dutch Primitives. At first sight, indeed, there is nothing very attractive in his gallery of figures. Solitary, aloof from the world, his personages stand around in his pictures, the hard gauntness of their forms all the more noticeable because they are placed so far apart from one another. Most of them have a joyless outlook upon life and a bourgeois, dry, and wooden bearing. One might suppose a painter of a somewhat philistine, pedantic nature, a genuine Hollander in his phlegmatic temperament and his lack of all feeling for grace and charm. And yet his work possesses in a high degree the qualities that attract us so strongly to the Primitive masters. Under the shy reserved demeanour of his figures there hides an intimate and genuine kind of sentiment for which we vainly seek in the painters of later centuries. Sincerity and veracity of expression redeem that harshness in the forms which was due, not to the artist alone, but also to the general taste of his time. The unbeautiful Madonna with the high osseous forehead, the narrow eyes, the pursed-up mouth, is so imbued with all the qualities of motherhood that we cannot help admiring her. The Child expresses its infantile thoughts so simply, so convincingly, that we watch its behaviour with

DIRK BOUTS, MADONNA AND CHILD

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

greater interest than we should if its movements were more graceful. It is, however, in his masculine characters, with their measured expressive gestures and their quiet thoughts absorbed in a world of their own, that Bouts succeeds most admirably.

His keen eye for individual facts is nowhere more plainly shown than in that rendering of the accessories for which Primitive painters have always been famous. The furs and brocades of his costumes are painted with the same love and the same sure sense of the material as the utensils on the table or the simple ornaments on the wall, as the fireplace, the buffet, the wash-basin in the niche. Wherever a window or a door permits a glimpse of the outer world the painter is sure to give an exact report upon the interesting details of street or garden or of the landscape back to a faraway distance. So it sometimes happens that a subordinate scene is the most charming part of the picture, and that the composition lacks organic unity. And as it is with the different parts of the picture so it is with the figures: they are so individually conceived that they cannot easily come into relationship with their neighbours. This narrative way of presenting the subject — ranging the figures loosely one beside another and laying stress above all upon the pregnant characterization of the individual and the environment — is, again, part and parcel of the art of the period. It will be remembered, perhaps, how similar was the procedure of contemporary painters in Germany and Italy — of Martin Schongauer, for example, and the Master of the Life of the Virgin, or of Fra Filippo Lippi and Ghirlandajo. It meant, in comparison with the art of the Master

of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden, an advance in the observation of details that was certainly not favourable to unity of composition, for these earlier masters had known how to hold their groups together in the interest of the main theme, and had always thought more of the whole than of its parts.

Among the chief merits of Dirk Bouts are his rare feeling for colour, in which he surpasses most of the Flemish Primitives, and his technical skill. He is not a great colourist in the sense that by subordinating all other tones to a few he achieves an integral harmony. This ideal, indeed, lay far ahead of the painters of his day. But he sets his vivid varied colours side by side in such a way that each accords with the next and raises it to the highest possible degree of brilliancy. In this sure accordance of the different hues and in their warm and glowing depth only a few of his contemporaries equal him. In fact, for parallel effects we must look back to the van Eycks. The progress of time is shown, however, by Bouts' acquaintance with mixed tones, such as a gray-lilac and a pink, which do not appear in the work of the van Eycks or of van der Weyden.

The strong yet rich variety of colour, the inner glow and warmth, that are characteristic of Bouts' pictures, as of most of those of Early-Dutch origin, distinguish them from the Flemish products of his time which are lighter and paler in key. And the purity of his colours, attained by means of a technique hardly inferior in its scrupulous carefulness to that of the van Eycks, gives his pictures a freshness that has outlasted the centuries.

The most famous of his works are the two, in the Museum at Brussels, which interpret a legend from the

DIRK BOUTS, THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA

PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

life of the Emperor Otto III — a theme that was chosen by the municipal councillors of Louvain, who gave the commission, as an example of the results of judicial injustice. But these pictures, painted at Louvain during the last years of the artist's life, between 1468 and 1475, do not show him at his best, for it was beyond his power to render dramatic action with figures the size of life. Under his hand the drama of a dreadful judgment scene becomes a long-winded tale in which only certain admirable portrait heads stand out as of much significance. Nor, indeed, did the Dutch painters of a later and greater time often achieve anything of a dramatic kind on a large scale, although even the Primitive Flemings, like van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle, true precursors of Quentin Metsys and the remoter Rubens, filled great panels with passionately animated compositions.

Bouts appears to much better advantage in the triptych of the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus in the Church of St. Sauveur at Bruges — one wing of which containing the figures of the donors was finished, after his death, in a masterly way by Hugo van der Goes — and in the somewhat earlier altar-piece, the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain. These pictures are full of splendid passages in the colours of the costumes and in the landscape; but again the stolidity of the artist interferes with a proper solution of difficult dramatic problems. Most entirely suited to his temperament, perhaps, are the beautiful triptych of the Adoration of the Magi at Munich and certain scenes in the Louvain altar-piece representing the Last Supper, especially in its wings

which are now in the public galleries at Berlin and Munich. A picture like the Gathering of the Manna bears witness to the character of the artist as well as to his method of composition and his conception of landscape. With what slow patience do the three foreground figures collect the manna! How deliberately they have stooped so that their garments shall not drag ungracefully on the ground! And how shyly does the little child that the meek meditative mother leads by the hand beg for some bread from the basket! The landscape with its jagged rocks is still conventionally composed, but, enlivened by little figures of diminishing sizes, it stretches away in various vistas to a far blue distance. As a whole, however, it still surrounds the human beings as might an interior space, closely and comfortably. This conception which, down to the time of Rembrandt, we encounter again and again in Dutch pictures, interprets a peculiarity in the landscape of Holland that was well observed by the Primitive painters — the constantly recurring contrast between far distances and an enclosed area near at hand. In the verdant avenues with drooping branches, in the low forests, among the dunes, and on the tree-planted squares of the compact villages, one walks as in an interior that affords through little windows glimpses of far-spreading plains.

In his biography of Aelbert van Ouwater, van Mander remarks that the earliest painters spoke of Haarlem as the place where landscape painting developed. And Dirk Bouts has the first claim to be considered the founder of this great branch of Dutch art which in the seventeenth century counted at Haar-

DIRK BOUTS, ST. CHRISTOPHER

PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

lem some of its chief representatives, such as Jan van Goyen and Jacob and Solomon Ruisdael. Although the composition of his backgrounds is antiquated, Bouts observes aerial perspective and cloud formations better than his Flemish forerunners, and he is the first who strives to indicate in a picture the particular time of day. In the Gathering of the Manna and on the wing belonging to it, which is now at Berlin and represents Elijah in the Wilderness, the evening shadows in the valleys are rendered with a delicate power of observation. In the background of a picture of Christ Taken Prisoner, in the Pinakothek at Munich, Bouts tries to give the effect of torchlight and moonlight. And the St. Christopher which forms one wing of the Munich tripytch of the Adoration of the Magi is rightly famous as the first representation of a sunset in easel painting. Certainly it was not by accident that a Hollander was the first who observed so closely the reflections of the setting sun on the water and the land, and who tried to render with his restricted linear scheme what was afterward so perfectly reproduced by the painters of Rembrandt's time, above all by Albert Cuyp.

It seems natural that an artist who took so much interest in characteristic heads should have painted individual portraits, all the more because in this field he had predecessors as great as Jan van Eyck, van der Weyden, and the Master of Flémalle. Two such works are known — a portrait of a man in the National Gallery at London and another in the Altman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. Both of them, definite, simple, and rapt in expression,

stand worthily at the very beginning of Dutch art which in portraiture was to achieve perhaps its greatest triumphs.

A general survey of his work shows Dirk Bouts as a continuator of the great Flemish tradition no less than as one of the founders of Dutch painting. It would be a mistake to wish to dissever him from the course of Flemish developments and to consider him as a purely Dutch painter, for he produced his most important works amid Flemish surroundings and under Flemish influence. On the other hand, his Dutch characteristics are so pronounced that he cannot be judged solely from the point of view of Flemish art. The important double place that must be given him in the history of painting is indicated by the fact that in Flanders as in Holland he founded a school upon which, in the one country as in the other, the art of the following period was based. In Flanders as great a master as Quentin Metsys sprang from his school. In Holland the whole school of Haarlem blossomed from his art. This art forms the first stage in the progress of Dutch painting which, just then, was freeing itself in spirit from the art of the neighbour land. From the moment when the artists for whom Dirk Bouts had done such excellent preparatory work remained in their native country Dutch painting stood upon its own feet.

In Louvain numerous works issued from the school of Bouts, and a group of them may be ascribed to one of his sons, Aelbrecht Bouts. But these pictures, intrinsically of small importance, need not be considered in connection with Dutch painting for, in spite of an affinity with Bouts' compositions, they are markedly

DIRK BOUTS, PORTRAIT OF A MAN

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

Flemish in their colouring as well as in their types which show the influence of Hugo van der Goes. We may therefore turn to Haarlem where in Aelbert van Ouwater we find the most important of the immediate followers of Dirk Bouts.

II

AELBERT VAN OUWATER

The criticism that is based upon stylistic grounds has been more barren of results in dealing with Ouwater than with any other great Primitive painter. After a successful first step — when Dr. Wilhelm Bode, shortly before the year 1890, discovered in Italy one of the two pictures by Ouwater that van Mander had described — our knowledge of the painter has not advanced by a single degree, for not one of the works ascribed to him during the last thirty years can stand the test of careful criticism. The only surely authenticated picture of Ouwater's is still the one that Bode discovered, the Raising of Lazarus, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. Yet it is very probable that about as many of his works are still in existence as have been left us by other Primitive painters — at least a dozen.

The records are also surprisingly barren, mentioning Ouwater only once, in the year 1467, when he buried a daughter in St. Bavon, the principal church at Haarlem — a fact which does not help us much in determining the dates of his career. We can depend, therefore, only upon the single picture in Berlin which, according to the witness of its style, dates from about the year 1460, and upon the brief statements of van Mander. These imply that Ouwater was still alive in 1480. As

his name indicates, he came from Ouwater, a village near Gouda; and from his picture we gather that he studied with Dirk Bouts. His activity must have covered, approximately, the years from 1450 to 1480. As he painted a high altar for the Church of St. Bavon, and as some of his paintings were known in Italy, he must have achieved considerable prominence.

The most unfortunate result of the limitation of our knowledge to a single one of his pictures is the impossibility of defining with precision the part he played in the development of painting. So plainly, however, as far as form is concerned, does this picture speak the language of Dirk Bouts that, as long as a wider knowledge of Ouwater's art is denied us, we must regard Bouts and after him Geertgen tot Sint Jans as the masters who definitively determined the development of art at Haarlem.

Through his one picture, however, we can in some degree make acquaintance with Ouwater himself. In his careful, minute, and brilliant workmanship he stands almost as near as Dirk Bouts himself to the classic tradition established by the van Eycks. Costumes and brocades, furs and silken turbans, he renders with the same astonishing technique, and, like his master, he achieves a beautifully diversified effect of colour, as of old stained-glass windows. Only, the tones are somewhat lighter and brighter — perhaps, in our picture, because of the artist's wish to render the diffused light streaming into the choir of the church. The types are in accord with the more cheerful colour scheme, for although they are closely related to the types of Dirk Bouts they reveal a different temperament. The

OUWATER, THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

figures have less of the grave and reserved spirit and nothing of the strained intensity of expression that we find in Bouts; instead, they have a mild and modest or a naïvely stupid mien. Their bodies, though slender, are less bony and are short in their proportions, with delicately formed extremities. Timid and earnest in their demeanour, when they grow animated they express themselves with childishly direct movements. How moderate, how gentle, are the astonished gestures of the awakening Lazarus! How shyly, with low voices, the figures back of Jesus comment upon the event! Even the Pharisees venture but diffidently to express their doubts. Only Peter zealously addresses his nearest neighbours, and a few of the spectators beyond the grating, crowding eagerly forward, seem to share his mood. More impressive, however, are the Christ with his simple bearing, his calm and gentle look, and the sister of Lazarus at prayer in the foreground, true Biblical piety written on her countenance. We are in Rembrandt's country, these two figures remind us, and the art of Primitive painters like Ouwater prepared the way for his incomparable interpretations of Bible stories.

Van Mander praises our painter especially for his landscapes, and in Italy also they were known as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is hardly doubtful, therefore, that in landscape painting Ouwater carried farther the important innovations of Dirk Bouts — a proof of the remarkable consistency with which Dutch painting developed along its own path.

In the composition of the Raising of Lazarus we find, again, a hint with regard to the later development of Dutch art. It is the first Dutch picture of a church

interior, the forerunner of the numerous interior views which, in the time of Rembrandt, formed a special department of Dutch painting. It is true that Flemish art had supplied Ouwater with more than one example of a similar arrangement, but he was the first who observed the individual character of the interiors of mediæval Dutch churches — the pictorial effectiveness of their clear lighting and the admirable fitness of their bare wall spaces as backgrounds for many-coloured costumes.

III

VARIOUS PICTURES IN THE MANNER OF DIRK BOUTS

There were other painters besides Ouwater who, working at Haarlem at the same time, derived in their art from Dirk Bouts. Such isolated anonymous examples of their work as are known to us, dating mostly from the seventh and the beginning of the eighth decade of the fifteenth century, deserve attention for their own sake as well as for the sake of their significance in the development of the Haarlem school.

One picture of this sort, owned by Mr. Stephenson Clarke at Hayward Heath in England — a Madonna and Child seated on a grassy bank — has often been tentatively ascribed to Bouts himself. It is a charming garden scene, typically Dutch in the rectangular flower-beds and the straight paths along which in the background two saintly women are walking. Beyond the garden, which is enclosed by brick houses and walls, spreads a wide hilly landscape diversified by groups of trees, quite like the landscapes in the pictures of Dirk Bouts. In the cathedral of Leitmeritz, in Bohemia,

FOLLOWER OF DIRK BOUTS, MADONNA AND CHILD

COLLECTION OF MR. STEPHENSON CLARKE, HAYWARD HEATH, ENGLAND

Hofstede de Groot found an identical composition with a somewhat different background. Both these pictures are full of simplicity and grace. Idyllic in suggestion is the portrayal of the delicately formed mother picking a flower from the grass for the child who eagerly stretches out his arms, of the saints in the garden amicably greeting each other, of the flowers and the turf, the peacocks on the wall, the swans in the moat. No painter of the Madonna had hitherto gone so far in transcribing from nature, in portraying genre-like details. Compositions with enclosed gardens or courts came to be characteristic of the Haarlem school and, with differences in the principal figures, will often meet us again. Undoubtedly they trace back to Dirk Bouts, for in an altar-piece now at Granada he had already set in a garden a representation of the Holy Family.

Another such picture, of about the same date as Mr. Clarke's, is a Raising of Lazarus which is said to be in Mexico and is known to me only through photographs. From the general arrangement and the attitudes of Lazarus, his sisters, and the Saviour, it appears that this artist must have known Ouwater's picture of the same name; but he lays his scene in a courtyard of similar design to the one in Mr. Clarke's Madonna and Child. On one side stands the palace, the lowest story borne by columns; on the other side, connected with the palace by a low wall, is a high corner or gateway tower. Beyond the wall we see the castle moat, hills farther back, and in the distance a city full of churches. The castle courtyard, its brick buildings enlivened by stone trimmings and adorned with blank

arcades and crenellated cornices, the numerous low walls, and the little steps and stairways, admirably represent the castle architecture of the time, of which the Binnenhof at the Hague, although much changed by restorations, is the most extensive existing example. The picture in Mexico, it may be added, reveals an artist who is sturdier and blunter than Ouwater and who gives his figures a more plebeian aspect.

It has been thought that in another closely related picture, the third which portrays a castle courtyard of the kind just described, the Binnenhof itself may be recognized. It is a representation of the Tiburtine Sibyl and the Emperor Augustus, and is now in the Städel Institute at Frankfort. A clearer idea may be formed of its painter than of the painter of the picture in Mexico, for we may confidently attribute to the same hand another large composition, a portrayal of the Life of the Virgin, now in the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia.

Let us consider first the Frankfort picture. Almost in spite of ourselves it strikes us as comical. With a stupid supercilious expression the Tiburtine Sibyl points the emperor, who is splendidly dressed but coarse in type, to the sky, where in the distance floats the Madonna with the Child. The connection that should exist between this apparition and the terrestrial figures is in some degree missed, for the artist, evidently wishing to show neither the emperor nor the sibyl from the back, has turned the emperor more toward the observer than toward the Madonna; and for the same reason the bystanders, who are as boorishly self-important as the chief personages, also look in the

FOLLOWER OF DIRK BOUTS, THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

MEXICO

wrong direction or else maintain an amusing air of condescension and indifference, an understanding of the miracle penetrating but slowly through their thick skulls. In some of the masculine heads, however, which are conceived in a portrait-like way, the heavy features have an imposing character, and two or three of the councillors at the left of the picture recall figures by van der Weyden or the Master of Flémalle. The costumes — the heavy baggy mantles, the high cloth caps, the pointed shoes, and the Burgundian headdress worn by one of the ladies in the background — show that we are not far from the golden age of Burgundian art. The strength and the decorative breadth of this art, clearly revealed in Burgundian tapestries of the sixth and seventh decades of the century, seem to have been the ideal in the mind of our painter. In comparison with the work of Dirk Bouts the treatment of the lighting shows progress and at the same time a development of Bouts' problems. The courtyard, lying in a bright sunshine that casts sharp shadows, and the figures, standing out from it in dark, almost flat masses, are rendered with a simplified art surpassing that of the elder painter, and the delight displayed in accumulating genre-like details in the background belongs to a later phase of art than his. In these subordinate scenes the artist appears as a great lover of animals. Under the palace stairway lies a chained bear, in the adjacent window sits a monkey, in the foreground stands a little greyhound, farther back a pair of peacocks promenade; and there are water-wagtails on the wall by the moat, storks on the roofs, herons in the field. In the delightful, clearly illumined landscape a

horseman is riding away while a dog springs up to him, a shepherd pastures his flock, and on a pathway are two lizards drawn, in spite of the distance, on so large a scale that at first sight we might mistake them for crocodiles.

The naïve love of story-telling with which all such things are rendered is one of the most charming qualities of this artist. And it is shared by most of the Early-Dutch painters, who take more pleasure than the Flemings in an episodical spinning out of their themes.

Full of similar details is a picture, owned by Mr. Johnson, of scenes from the Life of the Virgin with the Marriage of Joseph and Mary as the principal subject. A comparison of the feminine types and of the bearded old men makes it particularly clear that we have here to do with the same brush that painted the Frankfort picture. Moreover, we find the same clear illumination, the same distinctness of detail carried into the far distance, and the same predominance of green and a strong vermilion. Nor is the little menagerie of tame beasts lacking. Most conspicuous now is a family of rabbits, one of them sitting sleepily on the path, another hopping away, a third just disappearing into his hole, his hind feet still visible. Admirably rendered also is the terrier that accompanies Joachim, boldly leaping down the steps of the temple.

The artist has developed since he painted the Sibyl and Augustus. While this picture can hardly be of a later date than 1465, the costumes in the Marriage speak, approximately, of 1480. The garments of the women have become closer fitting and more elegant, the men wear shorter coats and the flat *bércts* or fur

FOLLOWER OF DIRK BOUTS, THE SIBYL AND THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS

STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT

caps with which we are familiar in the early works of Dürer. Broad slippers replace the long pointed shoes, giving the men, even on the street, a comfortable domestic look. In the stead of the Burgundian mode we have the less cumbrous fashions of France.* And the personages seem to have altered with their clothes. They have grown a little more animated and no longer contemplate the world so gloomily or unconcernedly. That the rejected suitors of Mary should still look on with apparent indifference, and that the elegant youth in the foreground should display a stupid and affected self-consciousness, is easily understood from the spirit in which the story is told. Joseph appears all the more cheerful with his naïve countenance, and Mary carries herself with a meek modesty. But in a more lively fashion are described the scenes in the background which set forth Mary's previous history — the expulsion of Joachim from the temple, the meeting of Joachim and Anne, the birth of Mary, her presentation in the temple, and finally, far in the distance, the annunciation to the shepherds. With long steps, passionately gesticulating in assertion of his innocence, Joachim departs from the high priest. In serious discourse he and Anne accompany Mary, an ugly little creature, as she approaches the temple and climbs the steps unassisted and with folded hands. And no less attractive is the episode of the birth where we catch sight of the thin face of the newly made mother hidden behind the half-closed curtains.

Again, this artist has advanced in the way he carries

*For changes of fashion see L. Balet, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans*. The Hague, 1910. p. 10 *et seq.*

his figures into the distance. They do not so quickly change in their dimensions, without any intermediate stages, as they do in the picture of the sibyl, but, with a certain intention, are ranged in gradually diminishing sizes back into the far distance.

It is probable that the artist himself did not deserve all the credit for these important forward steps. At the time when he created the scenes from the Life of the Virgin a greater master than he — Geertgen, the painter of the Knights of St. John of Haarlem — had already appeared, to exert thenceforward an influence upon all the painters of Holland. This influence is suggested by some of the heads in the Life of the Virgin, such as the strongly characterized old man with a beard behind the high priest, and also by the juster relative proportions of the figures in the background. But with this artist as with all others Geertgen's influence worked especially toward a more animated and incisive individualizing of the personages. And from him must also have been derived that manner of characterizing the remoter figures by more emphatic gestures which he transmitted to all his successors down to Jan Mostaert and Jacob Cornelisz.

IV

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS

Geertgen was the greatest of the early Dutchmen, the Rembrandt of the fifteenth century. It is said that when Dürer saw his work he exclaimed, "Verily, he was a painter in his mother's womb."

Although we are not sure of the dates of his career, we may deduce them approximately from his pictures

FOLLOWER OF DIRK BOUTS, THE MARRIAGE OF JOSEPH AND MARY

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

and the brief remarks of van Mander. Born, apparently, about the year 1465, some fifteen years later he was working under Ouwater in company, perhaps, with Gerard David who, even before he removed to Bruges in 1483, was strongly influenced by Geertgen's art. Geertgen's brief activity filled, it seems, the decade between 1483 and 1493, upon which his death soon followed. Although he did not become a member of the order of the Knights of St. John he lived with them at Haarlem, and for them he created his masterpiece, an altar-picture of which only a single wing, bearing on the one side a Pietà and on the other a Burning of the Bones of John the Baptist, is preserved, hanging now in the Hof Museum at Vienna.

As his career was so brief it would be rash to try to map out for Geertgen a course of development. But it may be said that the altar-piece just mentioned, with a Nativity in private ownership at Berlin and the John the Baptist in the Berlin Museum, must belong to his ripest period, while the small Adoration of the Magi at Amsterdam, the Christ in the Sepulchre at Utrecht, and perhaps the Holy Fellowship in a church interior, likewise in the Amsterdam Museum, must mark the beginning of his career. Thus far we know, in all, fourteen of his pictures. All are in one and the same style and reveal a self-sufficient personality almost inaccessible to outside influences, the relationship to Ouwater or Dirk Bouts being merely of the general kind that exists between painters of the same school.

In the presence of Geertgen's pictures we distinctly feel for the first time a material relaxing of the technical tradition established by the van Eycks. They

lack the brilliant effect, as of enamelled colours, and the miniature-like, sharply detailed finish that are characteristic of these elder masters. The colours are duller, the handling is looser, revealing the touch of the painter who unconsciously expresses his personality by the stroke of his brush. The figures have grown much more plebeian. They are robustly built rustic Dutchmen who have moved into the city and there achieved independence and consideration. The men have osseous heads, clean-shaven faces, and gigantic beards, the women have unbeautiful, long, chubby-cheeked countenances, the children are broad-headed and oldish-looking. The men walk with a proud strut, the women squat clumsily on the ground, the children behave in a rude grotesque way. What is great in this little bourgeois world is the deep and sincere feeling of its inhabitants. So elementary is any expression of joy or sorrow wrung from one of these reserved and sturdy people that the astonished observer cannot refrain from sympathy. The counterweight to this intensity of feeling is a sense of humour fed by the observation of the discords of the outer world. Later on we shall find this trait again in Rembrandt, whose temperament on its purely human side is very like Geertgen's. As in Rembrandt's work, so too in Geertgen's, the humour is of a reticent sort appearing only in accessory scenes, as in the droll children of the Amsterdam Holy Fellowship, who look like figures of Pieter Breughel's. Geertgen seems to have been by nature serious and reflective and, if we read his works aright, was not among those who are on easy terms with life.

As regards the general development of art, the most

important thing that Geertgen accomplished was, perhaps, his preparation of the way for the warmth of sentiment revealed in the work of Rembrandt; but, in addition, every element of Dutch painting felt the stimulus of his art.

In his pictures the colours are, indeed, still bright and varied, yet they begin to subordinate themselves to a general tone, a warm red-brown which becomes reddish in the faces, giving them a heated look, and which already suggests the favourite colour of the Dutchmen of Rembrandt's time. In his preference for red in the costumes Geertgen became the standard for the whole Haarlem school. We find red as the principal colour in the pictures of all his followers down to Jan Mostaert and Jacob Cornelisz, and at last it becomes the intense vermilion which expresses, so to say, the warmth of feeling of Rembrandt and his associates — Nicholas Maes, Pieter de Hooch, and others.

Even in the landscape backgrounds of Geertgen's pictures a stronger feeling for tone is perceptible. Although there is still a remnant of the traditional division into a blue distance and a brownish-green middle distance, these tones pass more gradually into each other, and sometimes only a diminutive bit of the far distance is shown. In these landscape backgrounds Geertgen goes far beyond his contemporaries, and in some parts of them he often seems astonishingly modern. Like the great landscape painters of the seventeenth century, like Jacob Ruisdael and Hobbema, he loves hilly wooded regions interspersed with quiet pools and enlivened by one or two solitary wanderers. He still makes use at times of those traditional rocky motives which can

scarcely have been reproduced from the artist's own observation, and he still renders distant details with the precision characteristic of Primitive painting. Nevertheless we feel, perhaps for the first time in the presence of Dutch art, that we are looking at landscapes that might really exist, and that have an intimate charm which invites us to visit them.

As yet we do not know of any authenticated individual portraits from Geertgen's hand although a portrait of the Burgomaster of Schiedam, dating from the year 1489 and now in the Johnson Collection, has a close kinship with his work and proves how much more simple, less anxious about details, and more broadly inclusive in the expression of character, portraiture had become since the time of Dirk Bouts. Moreover, in one of Geertgen's pictures at Vienna there is a splendid group of portraits of the Knights of St. John who, as the donors of the altar-piece, have their place in the devotional scene. Here, as has often been remarked, is the starting-point of the Dutch portrait group which, later on, was freed by Jan Scoorel and Antonio Moro from its association with religious compositions, and in the seventeenth century became one of the most distinctive branches of the pictorial art of Holland.

Geertgen's instinct for the path that painting was to follow in his country shows in a still more striking way, perhaps, in two pictures that portray church architecture. It was no novelty to set a religious scene in a church, as did Geertgen in his Amsterdam Holy Fellowship; not only Ouwater but also van der Weyden and Jan van Eyck had supplied him with noteworthy examples. But Geertgen went much farther than they in

IN THE MANNER OF GEERTGEN, PORTRAIT OF THE BURGOMASTER OF SCHIEDAM

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

depicting a church interior, showing a Dutch Gothic church with the wooden vaults above the central alley of the nave, the flat board ceilings in the aisles, the rood-screen, and the decorated altar, with so much truth and such accurate observation of the incidence of the light that he stands as a worthy forerunner of the great seventeenth-century masters of interior architecture, like Pieter Saenredam and Emanuel de Witte.

In an interior view of the cathedral (the Church of St. Bavon) at Haarlem, which is mentioned by van Mander and is still in its original place in the church, he has even bequeathed us an architectural picture independent of a religious scene; and although it looks as though it had been produced in connection with the masons' guild of the cathedral, perhaps as a model, nevertheless it remains the first and the only oil painting of its sort that has been preserved from the fifteenth century, in the city where afterward, in Rembrandt's time, the great painters of churches celebrated their triumphs.

Naturally such a painter as Geertgen was not weak where all the great Dutchmen were strong — in chiaroscuro. His conception of the story of the Nativity, in a picture now in private ownership at Berlin, was long believed to be the earliest in pictorial art with a nocturnal setting. In all previous presentations of this theme the light had been the light of day, although the artist had sometimes put a candle in Joseph's hand to suggest the hours of darkness. Geertgen himself had so treated the scene in an earlier picture. In the later one he not only renders the nocturnal lighting with admirable success but also introduces into art the

scheme of illumination which in the next generation Correggio made famous in Italy. That is, he makes the light emanate from the Christ Child and thus makes him, materially as well as spiritually, the focus of the scene.

In his broadly human aspect, however, Geertgen ranks even higher than as a factor in the development of the art of painting. The painters of the beginning of the sixteenth century, not excepting even Lucas van Leyden, suffer from their effort to express more than they have in themselves, and adhere to the style in vogue in their day. Geertgen expresses himself as he is, with a natural simplicity which, it may seem, should be the first and most obvious trait of a true artist but is in fact the rarest. He is able to portray both joy and grief with complete freedom of spirit.

Excepting Rembrandt, what Netherlander has known how to express suffering as Geertgen does in the Christ of his Pietà at Vienna? Intrinsically, this Christ has, indeed, little of the divine, but he is as piteous as ever mortal could be. Silently and humbly he has struggled, and so he is now less gruesome than the dead Christ of Holbein whose open mouth still bears witness to his outcries. Here only the corners of the mouth are slightly hollowed by pain, and the prominent cheekbones cast shadows upon sunken cheeks. The body has arched itself with the intake of the last difficult breath, and the lifted breast and sunken abdomen rest naturally on the mother's lap. In none, perhaps, of the innumerable representations of this theme has a painter found for the Christ so reposeful a position, one that so directly and profoundly expresses the rela-

GEERTGEN, PIETA

HOF MUSEUM, VIENNA

tion between mother and son. In earlier pictures Mary, with a mediæval simplicity palpably embodying the deepest love, takes the whole corpse upon her lap. A dreadful idea — that a mother should hold the naked bleeding body with her own hands upon her knees! Only in a country where the Mother of God was not a woman but a goddess could such a conception be spiritualized, as where the Madonna of Michelangelo holds the mortal burden lightly upon celestial draperies. With van der Weyden and with Bouts Christ already rests with his feet on the ground, but Mary still encircles the awful form with her arms and kisses its mouth. Geertgen conceives his theme in a more restrained way than the vehement explosive van der Weyden, in a more human way than the diffident Dirk Bouts. On a white shroud Christ lies upon his mother's knees; she does not kiss him or embrace him; in her gaze lie adoration, love, and an unspeakable sorrow that the head should no longer turn toward her pleading eyes. The communion between mother and son is undisturbed and shut away from all the world, for the encircling mourners are not saints of the church who descant in concert upon the misfortune that has befallen them but human beings who in their sympathetic grief have forgotten external things. Abandoning themselves to their suffering, each one self-absorbed, they weep in as childlike a way as Homeric heroes. John, the beautiful youth with the elongated face and the splendid curls, grasps with a large gesture the folds of his cloak, to press them to his eyes. He neither supports the Christ nor consoles Mary as in the representations of other artists. Mechanically he points to the dead man,

as though thinking of friends to whom he is explaining the inconceivable harshness of fate. The women also find no help in themselves, but seek comfort in prayer or look toward the observer as though pleading for aid. Hardly more self-possessed are the three other men. Joseph of Arimathea, a stern and dauntless figure, has been brought to his knees by the power of the Saviour's meek personality. An old man behind him holds his head with a naïve gesture, as though it threatened to sink. Behind them all, with a fixed and quiet gaze, stands an elderly man, great experience and great suffering depicted on his countenance.

It is like an epic, this picture, embracing the mundane and the spiritual life of man, the momentary occurrence and the eternal existence of nature. Although in the background we see the brutal deeds of the day on Golgotha, the foreground group appears like a silent world of sadness. Or, if we glance at the other side of the landscape, full of a secluded peacefulness, we feel, in contrast again, the tumult agitating the souls of the friends of Christ.

Although the separate episodes in this picture may seem to have small connection with one another, they are conceived in the same mood, as grows plain if we look at another of Geertgen's works, an Adoration of the Magi at Prague. How joyless seem the bare rocks of the Pietà and the gloomy wood with the solitary pool, how displeasing the dreary labour of the men on the hill, by contrast with the fresh and living world that now opens to our eyes. Here again are rocks, but the sun illumines them and vegetation clothes them. Here again are wooded slopes, but friendly cottages gleam

GEERTGEN, THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

RUDOLFINUM, PRAGUE

out from them and palaces and castles are ranged up the heights. And the water lies, not apart, but amid the cheerful activity of the village street; the hand of man has dammed and bridged it; its surface mirrors gayly dressed, wide-cloaked figures grouped in eager talk. For whom has the landscape thus put on a Sabbath garment? For whom do proud horsemen on white palfreys dash over the shining sand, to pause where the wise men of the land philosophically discuss a great event? It is all for the sake of the little prince who in the foreground sits, confident and bold, upon his mother's lap. No Christ Child is this, with eyes full of a knowledge of the world and forebodings of sufferings to come. Closer to the northern painter lay the conception, "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child." Blithely the babe stretches out the bare arm that is clasped by the fingers of the gray-haired king and the supporting hand of Mary. The fingers of his other hand are contracted as though about to grasp at the glitter of the golden vase. But the mother, who esteems herself as naught in the presence of her son, receives the adoration of the kings with the modest self-possession of childlike natures. And the kings correspond in character to this gentle earnest being. They do not parade into the stable with steeds and cavaliers, with pages and soldiers; as friends, dignity blending with modesty, they dedicate to the infant Christ their thoughts rather than their gifts.

As a rule Geertgen is the enemy of all exaggerated vehement gestures; his figures are born to keep silence. In the Amsterdam Holy Fellowship he resolves the

problem of harmonizing the personages and the architecture by making, so to say, columns of the figures. Broadly and heavily built women with stony faces sit upon the ground; men with beards like primæval forests stand about motionless. Their poses are carefully calculated: almost without exception they are shown in full or in half figure — seven of them in full face, three in profile, three from the back. Only the awkward intrusions of a couple of children cut across the structure of regular lines, like the grotesques on a Gothic capital. In the same restrained manner the unworldly artist dealt with the portrayal of John the Baptist in the Wilderness. With Geertgen, as with all the great Dutchmen, the feeling for individual personality was so strong that in compositions of many figures it was apt to impair unity, as is the case in the second of his pictures at Vienna. It is in the portrayal of single figures that the artists of Holland have often given us their very best.

Sunk in an endless reverie the Baptist sits low down in a pleasant wooded landscape of flowing lines that lead the eye back to a distance dotted with cities. He takes no heed of the animals that play around him, of the roe-buck by the water, the hares that nibble the fern, or the birds in the air, or even of the Lamb that rests beside him. Absorbed in himself he crouches on the ground. Nothing is left of the typical art of the fifteenth century, which represented the Baptist standing and pointing to the Lamb. Here he is like all the great artistic personifications of deep meditation — the Melencolia or the St. Anthony of Dürer, Michelangelo's Jeremiah or Lorenzo de' Medici, Rem-

GEERTGEN, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

brandt's young man lying at the feet of Christ in the Hundred Guilder Print — in that he has seated himself naturally and negligently without thought of the spectator and, as deep reflection paralyzes physical effort, has suppressed all tendency to external action, drawing his limbs together into the smallest compass and pressing his hands and feet close to his body.

The defects characteristic of the period — the too great height of the point of view in respect to the landscape, the detachment of the figures from the background, the discordant proportions of the people and the animals — do not disturb us here, for all the separate parts are individually and largely observed. It might, for example, be hard to distinguish the species of the trees and plants, as one may do with Dirk Bouts who saw details better than anything else, or with the van Eycks who were still affected by the persistent mediæval way of working. Yet by subordinating the details of a landscape to a general impression Geertgen achieves the effect of a faithfully rendered natural scene more completely, perhaps, than any other Primitive painter of the Low Countries. It suffices us that the ferns, the dandelions, the thistles, the trees, are so shaped as to awaken our general recollections of such plants. The greatest landscape painters have not been the best botanists. If they had been, it would mean that the love of science must always be a factor in art, as it was with Dürer and Leonardo, but not with Ruisdael or Hobbema and still less with Rembrandt or Rubens in whose paintings even the species of the trees cannot be identified. Geertgen was a forerunner on the path that they trod, a path that led to a stage where, in imaginary land-

scapes, living nature down to the last characteristic detail was infused with the painter's sense of style. Unconsciously Geertgen was more concerned that the spirit of the artist should express itself in the portraiture of every leaf than that the pattern supplied by nature should be distinctly apparent.

If in this picture of the Baptist all passion is immured in the depths of the soul, in another work of Geertgen's, which we must look upon as exceptional, it bursts forth with unparalleled violence. Here, in the Christ in the Sepulchre at Utrecht, the Saviour is drenched with the blood that flows from his wounds in broad streams. With a feeble hand he tries to stanch the fount in his gaping side. His tottering form is broken by the weight of the cross which, bulky and black, leans against him. Great teardrops fall from his eyes, and all those around him — Mary and the Magdalene, St. John and the angel — are also weeping. All restraint is thrown aside. With a kind of sentiment that is proper to the north the composition is shaped by the spirit of the scene, the form is as wild and confused as its inner significance. How impossibly the figures move in an impossible place! We do not see how Christ stays in the sarcophagus, how the cross stands, or how the Magdalene kneels or Mary and John find room for themselves. The lines of the tomb lead the eye toward the distance in a direction that is reversed by the horizontal arm of the cross. The angels who, by reason of their relative size, ought to be farther back are forced into a nearer plane by the way in which they impinge upon the contours of the foreground figures and upon the frame. And as the planes of the picture thus intersect,

so the attitudes of the figures in relation to one another are as strongly contrasted as possible. The straight-lined objects — the cross, the edge of the sarcophagus, the lances and pikes — divide the closely filled surface of the picture with thick dark strokes. And the bisecting of the figures by all four sides of the frame enhances the resemblance to a veritable scene from life. Something, it is true, has been done to mitigate this impression as of a frightful reality. The gold ground, which by this time was unusual, and the inconceivable arrangement in an unreal place, label the picture as a work of ecclesiastical conventionalism; and that thought of the observer which, for the sake of greater reality, was avoided in the picture of the Baptist, is here expressed by the attitude of the Christ. The apparent confusion of the composition is solved, however, by closer observation. The poses repeat themselves in regular rhythm, three of the figures are placed on either side of Christ, and in the centre the design approximates to a triangle the point of which is formed by his head. But the spiritual meaning of the picture affects us more strongly than the harmony of the composition. We ask ourselves, Is it great art which so stuns us that we forget to demand material beauty? Certainly it is not art of a kind that can be measured by the usual tests, no more than is the late work of Rembrandt. It is a conflict, not a victorious procession like all the art of the south; and it knows only one kind of triumph — the triumph of extreme individuality.

The painter who achieved so greatly lived only twenty-eight years. But the charm that marks artists who die young, their much-bepraised lovableness, does

not irradiate his figure. The youthful traits in Geertgen are his naïvely drastic way of expressing himself, the intensity with which he feels suffering, and the simplicity and grandeur with which he portrays it, as though he had no time to condescend to small things.

Among the pictures that resemble Geertgen's, one of the most beautiful is a St. Martin in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia. It is too simple and too fine to be called the work of an imitator, but because of the somewhat divergent types and the more cursory treatment of the background it can hardly be ascribed to the master himself. It plainly shows the influence of one of those many statues of St. Martin that were produced, especially in Belgium and the north of France, during the last third of the fifteenth century. In few of these, however, can the theme have been conceived with as much feeling or with such a sense of style; in few can so much dignity and sincerity have been conferred upon the saint, so much grace, in spite of all defects in drawing, upon the horse, or upon the beggar an air of gratitude so natural and yet so free from obsequiousness. It is as though the artist wished to restrict himself to the expression of the most important things, and considered all display of details unsuitable to a scene of the kind.

Geertgen's advent impelled other artists to take a genuine interest in the psychological content of their themes. How highly the painters of his time esteemed his art is shown not only by the strong influence that it exerted in every direction but also by the copies that were soon made from his pictures. We have three such

IN THE MANNER OF GEERTGEN, ST. MARTIN

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

copies, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. One, a sketchy copy of the Pietà in the Museum at Vienna, was made by Jan Mostaert, the principal painter of Haarlem in the earlier part of the century, as is proved by the fact that he added wing-pictures of his own composition. The two others, especially interesting as reproductions of lost originals, are the painting owned by Sir Charles Turner in London, with scenes from the life of St. Domenick, and the well-known triptych in the National Gallery at London with the Madonna and saintly women in a forest.

The first of these two is a stately composition, of somewhat the same kind as the Amsterdam Holy Fellowship, where the apparition of the Madonna owes its impressiveness to the dignified yet simply human way in which it is conceived. The second is particularly remarkable for the naïve fairy-tale poetry of the theme and the marvellous rendering of the mood of the forest. The unsymmetrical grouping and the irregular association of the different motives seem at first sight typically Dutch. But this artless transcript from scenes actually observed in nature is not without artistic effectiveness. How convincing is the naked awkward Christ Child whom the mother has carefully set upon a cushion on the ground so that he may take care of himself while she devotes herself to the perusal of a pious book! How natural seems the complaisance of the holy women and the angels in amusing the babe, who accepts their ministrations as a matter of course! The saints have lost all trace of the stately bearing given them in pictures of the time of the van Eycks. They are persons from Geertgen's own environment who behave as they think

fit, unconcernedly following their own impulses. One of the angels has interrupted his flute-playing to bring the women a basket of fruit, another lets a stream of water from the spring fall upon a shell full of cherries, a third gathers flowers in his lifted mantle. The saints who wander in the shade between the trunks of the trees would be undistinguishable from aristocratic town ladies of the time if they were not leading a lamb by a cord in token of their saintliness. The orange trees and cypresses and the deep blue sky with its soft and feathery white clouds are rendered with remarkable truth, as though the artist were familiar with southern regions.

The close resemblance of the types to Geertgen's, and the originality of the conception, have led more than one critic to attribute this picture to the master himself, all the more because the two figures of St. John on the wings point to the patron saint of the order in whose house he dwelt at Haarlem. But keener eyes have recognized in the work a somewhat later Dutchman who had especially attached himself to elder masters — to Memling, to Geertgen, and still more to Quentin Metsys — and who made use in his own work of their imaginative powers. Friedländer has named him the Master of the Morrison Triptych, in reference to a painting owned by Mrs. Alfred Morrison in London, which is a free copy of Memling's well-known triptych at Vienna. As he was not at all deficient in inventiveness, very likely he altered Geertgen's composition, and it is possible that he gave its southern character to the landscape. However this may be, the picture is one of the most delightful creations of Early-Dutch art

and one of the masterpieces among the Primitive paintings in the National Gallery at London.

V

PAINTERS INFLUENCED BY GEERTGEN

Were there no other proof of Geertgen's importance it might be divined from the number of pictures that reveal his influence. In assigning these works to their places I must cite a long line of painters who are not always as delightful to study as is their great model.

Six artists demand attention above all others as followers of Geertgen. Three of them must have been at work in Haarlem at the same time as he or but little later — the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, the young Gerard David, and the Master of the Antwerp Triptych. The other three — the Master of Alkmaar, Jan Mostaert, and Jacob Cornelisz — won their prominent places in the art of Holland at a later time, in the first half of the sixteenth century, and it is therefore only their early work that concerns us here.

THE MASTER OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY

As with all great artists so with Geertgen we find that some of his followers imitate their model so closely that on the surface their art is deceptively like his own, betraying the imitator only by a lesser intensity of feeling. It was a painter of this kind who produced the altar-piece representing the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, now in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam. Three other paintings also came from his studio — a Crucifixion in the same collection, a similar picture now in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht (formerly in

the Church of St. Vitus at Naarden), and a Descent from the Cross in the possession of Herr Figdor at Vienna. These pictures are unlike in execution, for the two Crucifixions, hastily painted, seem like the products of some great workshop. In general, an antiquated technique, which still uses gold and silver in the details and especially in the armour, alternates with a sketchy way of painting that derives, indeed, from Geertgen's manner but less surely hits the mark. The types, even to the reddish flesh-tones, are wholly taken from Geertgen, and the colours — the warm red conspicuous in the costumes, the red-brown that dominates in the foreground of the landscapes, and the greenish-brown farther back — also recall his pictures, although hotter and more uniform in tone. Probably the artist often copied figures from Geertgen's paintings, for some of the motives seem almost too original to be his own. In one case, indeed, in the Descent from the Cross, the borrowing can be demonstrated: the man on the ladder who holds a large hat in his hand is imitated from the kneeling masculine figure in Geertgen's Pietà at Vienna. Both the Crucifixions, where the Christ and the angels are most noticeably in Geertgen's manner, originated perhaps in borrowings from the central part of the Vienna altar-piece, now lost to us, for at a later time, in representations of the crucifixion by Jacob Cornelisz, we find similar motives which seem to have been taken from Geertgen's compositions. As is often the case with the imitators of great masters, the influence on the pupil is detrimental in so far that he adopts the simplifying, summarizing method of his teacher without basing it upon

MASTER OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY
THE CRUCIFIXION
RIJKS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

a corresponding power and pregnancy in the rendering of the forms. Painters of the rank of this pupil of Geertgen's would perhaps have done admirably, within their limits, in the time of the van Eycks when they would not have been tempted to slight details. Geertgen did away with this miniature-painting, and as a result the pictures of his followers look empty. On the other hand, the work of the one whom we are now considering excels in decorative effect when seen from a distance, as the landscape, the architecture, the costumes, and the human forms are all treated in broad planes.

The best picture of the group is the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, which makes its mark among the Primitives in the Rijks Museum by virtue of its strong colours — the warm reds and red-browns, the light notes of certain white costumes, and the lively blue of the sky. The painter tries as hard as he can to infuse his figures with spiritual feeling but lacks the power to make them lifelike. Those in the foreground especially have the look of dolls, and there is a touch of the marionette theatre in the way in which one executioner stabs the saint, and another, affected by the scene, wipes his eye while the old king stands morosely by. Very charming, however, are the accessory scenes of the background where the simplified treatment is better in place. The pair of lovers on the bench in front of the house, the feast that is visible through the window, and the administration of the sacrament to the anxious saint while a sorrowful introspective choir-boy assists, are portrayed in a lifelike way that reminds us of the later genre-painters of Pieter Breughel's time.

From the few pictures by this artist that are known to us we may gather that he was at work from 1480 until shortly after 1500. During this time the Haarlem records mention two brothers, Mourijn and Claes Simonsz, who between 1485 and 1490 painted the wings of the high altar for the Church of St. Bavon. Mourijn, who is always named before Claes, appears to have been active for a longer time. First mentioned in 1473, he became a widower in 1478 and did not die until 1509. Perhaps these brothers conducted the workshop in which the pictures that have just been mentioned were produced, for the use of gold seems to indicate one of the older painters of the day, and the brothers were explicitly instructed by their employers to use gold in the wings of the altar of St. Bavon. Moreover, another circumstance, of a less important kind, may support the identification. The early works of Jacob Cornelisz prove, almost to a certainty, that he was a pupil of the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Lucy; he was a native of Waterland, and van Mander wonders how so famous an artist could come from so poor a place; but, as we know from the records, the Simonsz brothers also came from Waterland, and therefore it is natural to assume that when Jacob Cornelisz betook himself to Haarlem he went to school to his fellow countrymen.

GERARD DAVID

With regard to the life of another of the artists whom Geertgen influenced, the greatest of all who followed in his steps, Gerard David, we are better informed. Like Dirk Bouts, David was a Dutchman by birth and active for a time in Haarlem but migrated

MASTER OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY
THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY
RIJKS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

to Flanders and lived there for the rest of his life. It is probable, however, that he worked at Haarlem for a briefer time than Bouts; and as his style was more strongly affected by the new environment at Bruges, there is even less warrant in his case than in the case of Bouts to claim him exclusively for Holland. He can hardly have been more than twenty-five years of age when he left his own country, and, less gifted by nature with imagination than Bouts, he was constrained to utilize the artistic products of his new home for the benefit of his own art. Nevertheless until the end of his life he retained Dutch characteristics; and as we are fortunate enough to know a long series of the works of his Haarlem period we are able in some degree to isolate what is typically Dutch in his art.

Dutch above all is the seriousness and the sluggishness of his figures, the shyness and taciturnity of their deportment — traits which in his riper period change to a noble dignity mingled with deep and tender religious feeling. Dutch also is that lack of dramatic power which is one reason why he did not succeed much better than Bouts with such subjects as scenes of martyrdom, like his Christ Nailed to the Cross in the Antwerp Museum or the Flaying of Sisamnus in the Town Hall at Bruges. He is dryer and less spontaneous than Geertgen, colder in feeling, more impersonal, and more ecclesiastical. But on the other hand he can disassociate himself better from the themes that he treats, and he pays more attention to the form in which he presents them — to symmetrical balanced composition, and a beautiful and decorative use of colour and line. His strength, like that of Dirk Bouts, lies in the domain of

the lyrical, but Bouts is infinitely fresher and more direct although, it must be confessed, more bourgeois. David is an aristocrat; and it is in devotional subjects, above all in portrayals of the Madonna and Child accompanied by saintly women or angels, of the annunciation, and of the Virgin lamenting her son, that he achieves the greatest beauty.

We get the impression that in the long run Geertgen's influence was not the best for him; indeed, it is seldom that one great artist can educate another. David was not fully conscious of his own personality until he found himself in the peaceful environment of Bruges where there were no such progressive elements as at Haarlem and the tradition of the great, almost impersonal art of the van Eycks was still alive. When he learned to know their work and that of the gentle lovable Memling, he began to recognize the value of the highest technical finish, and developed for himself the style of much distinction with which he created the last great examples of the splendid mediæval art of Bruges. The works of his early Haarlem period lack this perfect completeness of execution for which Geertgen cared little; and as they fall short of a convincing accent of personality they are rather meagre and empty in effect. It is true that some of them, particularly the St. Jerome of the Salting Collection in the National Gallery at London, testify that Geertgen had shown him the way toward a deeper psychical expressiveness; and perhaps to this influence, felt in his days of pupilage, may be traced the impressive results which he afterward achieved in some of his work at Bruges. In externals his Haarlem pictures bear a close resemblance

GERARD DAVID, THE VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

to Geertgen's. In the Christ Nailed to the Cross, the central part of which is in the possession of Lady Ledyard at Venice while the wings are at Antwerp, and in the wing-pictures, showing John the Baptist and St. Francis, in the von Kaufmann Collection at Berlin, the types are so like Geertgen's that this painter has often been thought of as their creator. The warm colouring also, with its brown shadows and reddish-brown flesh-tones, and the broadly handled foliage speak altogether of Geertgen; later on at Bruges they change in accordance with the much cooler colouring of Flemish pictures. Again, we sometimes find in Geertgen the stiff ranking of the figures with their heads at the same level, but the liking for it seems to have been more firmly rooted in the nature of the younger artist, and with its aid David developed the austere monumental effects that distinguish his later compositions.

It has rightly been remarked that the dates of Geertgen's career do not fit in with the belief that Gerard David was actually his pupil. It is much more permissible to think that David, who came from the same place as Ouwater, was Ouwater's pupil and in his studio made acquaintance with Geertgen. It is nothing out of the common that the fellow-student should have exerted a greater influence than the master. Here in Holland we find the same thing at a later day: Rembrandt's influence upon those who worked with him under Lastman, and especially upon Lievens, was much stronger than their master's.

Some of the motives for his compositions David did, perhaps, take from Ouwater. For instance, there is preserved in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia a

version of Dirk Bouts' Adoration of the Magi which greatly resembles three of David's youthful works, now in Budapest, in the von Kaufmann Collection at Berlin, and in private ownership in France; and probably Ouwater transmitted to David this composition of Bouts'. Yet even here David reverted to Geertgen's conception, borrowing the idea of a nocturnal setting and using it in a richer fashion, and in the works that he produced at Bruges many years later we can still divine the strength of Geertgen's influence. Pictures which were not painted until ten years, perhaps, after David's change of residence, like the beautiful Adoration of the Magi at Brussels and the Tables of the Law in the Town Hall at Bruges, and which already show the assimilation of Flemish influences, still display individual motives and colours that unquestionably trace back to the great Haarlem master.

THE MASTER OF THE ANTWERP TRIPTYCH

Gerard David had none of the dry humour that Geertgen occasionally reveals in the subordinate parts of his pictures. But the temperament of another of Geertgen's pupils, the painter of the little triptych in the Antwerp Museum which shows the Madonna in the centre and St. John and St. George on the wings, seems to have been in accord with the master's leaning toward the burlesque. To the same artist have rightly been attributed a Madonna with the Donors and St. Michael in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, and an Assumption of the Virgin at Bonn. He comes nearest to Geertgen in the Berlin picture where the narrow-eyed Mary is the very image of the great

master's Madonna types. The St. Michael who protects the donors with a grand gesture as he makes obeisance to the Child is also quite worthy of the master. To a greater degree than most of Geertgen's pupils this one strives to rise from petty genre-like conceptions to a monumental style. But he does not get beyond a good beginning; his handling is hard and wooden, and in the rendering of children in particular he drops into the grotesque. Their droll irreverent behaviour, the worldly appearance of his saints as the Antwerp pictures show it, and the self-conscious air of his Madonna, make it plain that religious sentiment is less strong with him than with Geertgen or even with Bouts and Ouwater, and that, original and powerful painter though he is, he falls in with the current tendency toward the secularizing of devotional pictures.

While we cannot follow any of these pupils of Geertgen's much beyond the end of the fifteenth century, excepting Gerard David whose development came to its full flowering in Flanders, the three others who have been named are best known to us in the subsequent phase of Dutch art, in the first third of the sixteenth century. The pictures of their youth are those that reveal the influence of Geertgen.

THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR

This painter gets his name from the seven pictures in the Church of St. Lawrence at Alkmaar which represent the Seven Works of Mercy and bear the date 1507. He worked at Haarlem and has been identified — correctly, it is probable — with Willem Cornelisz, the teacher of Jan Scoorel. On the testimony of the Alk-

maar pictures it was thought that his art derived from Geertgen's, and this belief has been confirmed by another painting from his brush, a St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, recently in the hands of a dealer, which dates from about 1490 and is very evidently the work of a pupil of Geertgen's.

It is a votive picture, as is shown by the two nuns who kneel in the foreground in front of their patrons, St. Francis and St. Stephen. In the centre Mary and her mother, seated on either side of the Christ Child, try to attract him by holding up, the one a bunch of grapes, the other a pear. The theme and the arrangement of this group are of frequent occurrence in Early-Dutch wood-carvings such as may be seen in the Museum at Utrecht and elsewhere; they appear in the art of Haarlem as early as in that of Antwerp and Brussels; and at a later period we find in the art of Leyden also a number of interpretations of the same theme with a similar grouping. The scene of our picture is set, in true Haarlem fashion, in a little garden encircled by low brick walls and laid out in terraces to make possible the placing of the personages one above the other. The most interesting figure is, perhaps, the John the Baptist in the upper left-hand corner, inspired, as is instantly apparent, by Geertgen's Baptist in the Wilderness. But what has happened to the grand creation of the great master? In the stead of a saint in profound meditation we see a quite cheerful one who plays with his lamb as though trying to put it through a course of training. The crossing of the feet, which with Geertgen is explained by the introspective, concentrated mood of the Baptist, is ignorantly and awkwardly copied. It

is instructive, also, with Geertgen's carefully observed details in mind, to notice how impossibly lies the mantle that has been thrown over the saint's shoulders, and how unnaturally its folds are bunched on the ground — a typical example of the way in which Geertgen's large and significant conceptions become petty and trivial in the paraphrases of his pupils. The farther away this artist gets from Geertgen, the less possible it is to make friends with him. If he is really identical with that teacher of Jan Scoorel who, according to van Mander, made use in dishonourable ways of the more gifted among his pupils, we may almost read his character in the figures in his pictures, surly of air with squinting, ill-natured glances. In his later works, for example, in the two large wing-pieces in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam and the picture in the Johnson Collection, these ugly and unsympathetic types, angular and wiry in movement, are especially numerous. Yet he proves himself an intelligent follower of Geertgen by the interest he takes in effects of light, showing particular pleasure in the rendering of cast shadows and sometimes using an astonishingly effective scheme of artificial lighting. In his stylized landscape side-scenes, with their steep rocks and overhanging stretches of meadow, he already suggests Scoorel, in his cool opalescent colouring, Lucas van Leyden.

JAN MOSTAERT

Jan Mostaert was the chief painter of Haarlem in the first half of the sixteenth century. In spite of all the charm of his art it proves that the local school had begun to decline and that Haarlem was about to resign

its leadership to other places — to Leyden, where Engelbrechtsz and Lucas van Leyden were at work; to Utrecht, where Jan Scoorel had appeared; to Amsterdam and the founder of its school, Jacob Cornelisz.

Mostaert became court painter to the Regent Margaret, and with him the art of Haarlem rose from the simple burgher atmosphere, in which Geertgen breathed, to a more aristocratic world of gay clothes, graceful movements, and fresh bright colours. A strict concentration upon the tasks of a narrow local circle gave way to a lively interest in the artistic life of neighbouring places and, indeed, of other lands, to a welcoming of foreign influences, Flemish and even Italian. In the 'thirties of the sixteenth century Mostaert still conformed to the stormily emotional style of the Antwerp painters, as is shown by his Crucifixion in the Johnson Collection; in the head of John the Baptist in the National Gallery at London he is swayed by Lombardic ideas; and toward the end of his life he seems to have been swept altogether into the channels of Italian art, for van Mander cites a picture of a Banquet of the Gods, a subject well within the repertory of the Italianizing Haarlem painters of the second half of the century, such as Cornelis Cornelisz and van Mander himself. Mostaert's long artistic career, which covered sixty years, joins Geertgen's great period to the period in which the ablest Haarlem painter of the seventeenth century, Frans Hals, was born. Just now, however, we have to take account only of Mostaert's early work, produced during the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Two very attractive products of the Haarlem school

— a Tree of Jesse in the Stroganoff Collection at Rome and the Sibyl and the Emperor Augustus in the Antwerp Museum — fall here into place, as both of them have been tentatively ascribed to Mostaert, the one by Friedländer, the other by Hulin. That the one and the other belong to the Haarlem school is made manifest by the setting of the scene in a courtyard, surrounded by low brick walls and gabled houses, where there is no lack of peacocks, storks, herons, and other much-loved creatures. The connection with Geertgen's art is again proclaimed, in the picture at Rome, by such types as the Madonna and the Child, by the warm red-brown colouring, and by the amusingly anecdotal manner, especially characteristic of Jan Mostaert, in which the story is set forth. Very original is the composition of the Tree of Jesse. The prophets do not grow, head and shoulders only, from the twigs, as they do in all earlier representations of the kind, but sit at full length in daring gymnastic attitudes on the branches of a realistically painted oak tree on the top of which the Madonna is enthroned. The worthy graybeards of the Old Testament are transmuted into elegantly dressed young bucks who trifle with their swords and sceptres and stick their heads coquettishly through the maze of foliage. Only two of the prophets, the oldest of all, have not joined the climbers but stand on either side of the hoary Isaiah where he has fallen asleep under the tree, as though they were listening to the youthful David who sits on the lowest branch playing his harp with a sentimental air. The tendency to romanticism, to the self-conscious expression of feeling, which here at the turning of the century meets

us for the first time, began within a few years to develop among the painters of the Low Countries into a deliberate exaggeration of sentiment, into actual mannerism.

In a pleasing form Mostaert shows this tendency again in his Antwerp picture. The courtly environment of the Emperor Augustus, the gay bustle of the palace courtyard, is admirably caught. At a respectful distance the guards, in their fantastic *Landsknecht* costumes, stand around in groups or promenade in the loggia of the palace or along the beautifully tended paths. Near the emperor, and holding his richly adorned hat, kneels a page in a costume plentifully embroidered with the imperial initial. The sibyl also differs radically from the good bourgeois figure in the earlier representation of the theme that we found at Frankfort. She seems entirely at home at court and is attended by elegant dames who converse with affected gestures about the miracle of the apparition. At the back of the courtyard we discover a little genre-picture: a young dandy, fashionably attired, sits nonchalantly on the balustrade in front of one of the palaces, amusing himself, apparently, with a servant-maid in a red dress and a white apron who is drawing up the bucket from the well.

To-day a picture of this sort has a special attraction, for we are not accustomed to finding in Primitive painters a consciousness of their own *naïveté* — a sign of the coming of Renaissance culture. We may think that when Jan Mostaert conceived Biblical and legendary stories as multicoloured pictures of the court in his own vicinity it was because a naïve religious sentiment

JAN MOSTAERT (?), THE SIBYL AND THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS
MUSEUM, ANTWERP

led him to translate the old tales into the current vernacular; but it was much more truly because he liked better to study the life of a contemporary court than to ponder upon the content of the story to be pictured. With the great elder masters, with van der Weyden, Bouts, or Geertgen, we also find contemporary costumes but only on the accessory figures, and all thought of the period is secondary to a concern for the idealistic significance of the representation. The more exactly, in the progressive development of painting, the fashions of the time are reproduced, the farther religious significance departs from the simple homely conceptions of elder days. This may be still more distinctly seen in the work of Jacob Cornelisz, the latest of the painters who can be described as under the influence of Geertgen.

JACOB CORNELISZ

Jacob Cornelisz was about of an age with Jan Mostaert, but as the more popular painter of the two he seems more advanced than the conservative court painter. No juvenile work of his is known to us, but the four representations of the Crucifixion in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht, the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, and the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, seem to belong to his earlier period and probably were painted not long after 1500. As has been said already, the connection between these compositions and those of the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Lucy is so evident that we must consider Cornelisz as a pupil of this painter. Therefore his relation to Geertgen was indirect, yet it is clearly apparent, not in

these paintings only, but in the work of his whole lifetime. The oval faces of the children in the pictures of the Crucifixion, the profiles with short snub noses, the wooded backgrounds with many-coloured little figures in stilted attitudes, the warm brownish flesh-tones, and the frequently recurring red costumes, all trace back to Geertgen. The spirit of his teaching seems to speak also in Cornelisz' sense of the humour of children, grotesquely shown in an altar-piece now at Naples, of about the year 1512, and in the Madonna pictures at Antwerp and Berlin. Finally, the love for a naïve portrayal of various episodes in the background of a picture no longer strikes us as novel, nor does the romantic air bestowed upon youthful saints. The essential difference between this artist and his elders is a result of the passage of time. Massed composition now takes the place of a concentration of interest upon a few figures. The whole foreground is filled with figures, and the remaining space back into the depth of the picture is developed chiefly by their aid. Instead of a dramatically accentuated incident we have the actions of crowds of people among whom the principal personage is often hardly to be discovered. Such arrangements, which demand perhaps greater executive ability than the earlier kind of composition but not the same intense degree of feeling, were employed by all Dutch artists who came under the influence of the Renaissance. They belong to a new period with which we are not here concerned.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century the Haarlem school lost its unique position in Holland.

JACOB CORNELISZ, THE CRUCIFIXION

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

The followers of Geertgen still produced work of importance in the elaboration of accessories and the portrayal of graceful anecdotes, thus furthering the development of genre-painting; but in all other directions — in portraiture, in the depiction of architecture, in landscape — they were, if anything, retrograde as compared with Geertgen. The painters who made of other cities independent centres of art seem, however, to have had Haarlem as their point of departure: Jacob Cornelisz, as we have seen, was a pupil of the Master of the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, Jan Scoorel of that Willem Cornelisz who was probably identical with the Master of Alkmaar; and the first of the great painters of Leyden, Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, was at the start — as for example in his St. Anne with the Virgin and Child at Amsterdam — in touch with the art of the Haarlem school.

IV

THE SATIRICAL WORK OF QUENTIN METSYS

QUENTIN METSYS stands in contrast to Dürer somewhat as Erasmus to Luther — an aristocratic intelligence sensitive to charm of every kind in contrast to the primitive, blunt, and rugged nature of a man in heartfelt sympathy with the plain people whose very embodiment he is.

A new faith was fermenting in the minds of strong men, great and simple in their modes of thought, who had risen from the lower walks of life, and the masses were staking their lives upon the same ideals. Meanwhile, in a world apart, the culture of a highly polished upper class was flowering in an art which, nourished upon experience and knowledge of every kind, played with forms and colours in a self-complacent dainty way that bordered upon affection. The spirit of this culture, which possessed almost every artist of the Netherlands, of Flanders, and of the Lower Rhine countries, revealed itself differently, according to the temperament of the individual and the character of the race. Mild and charming with the painters of Cologne — the Master of

QUENTIN METSYS, OLD MAN DANCING

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

St. Bartholomew and the Master of St. Severinus — harsher and less graceful with the Dutchmen Lucas van Leyden and Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, livelier and more extravagant with the Flemings, everywhere it betrayed itself by the same effort to express a subtile elegance and the greatest possible degree of sensibility.

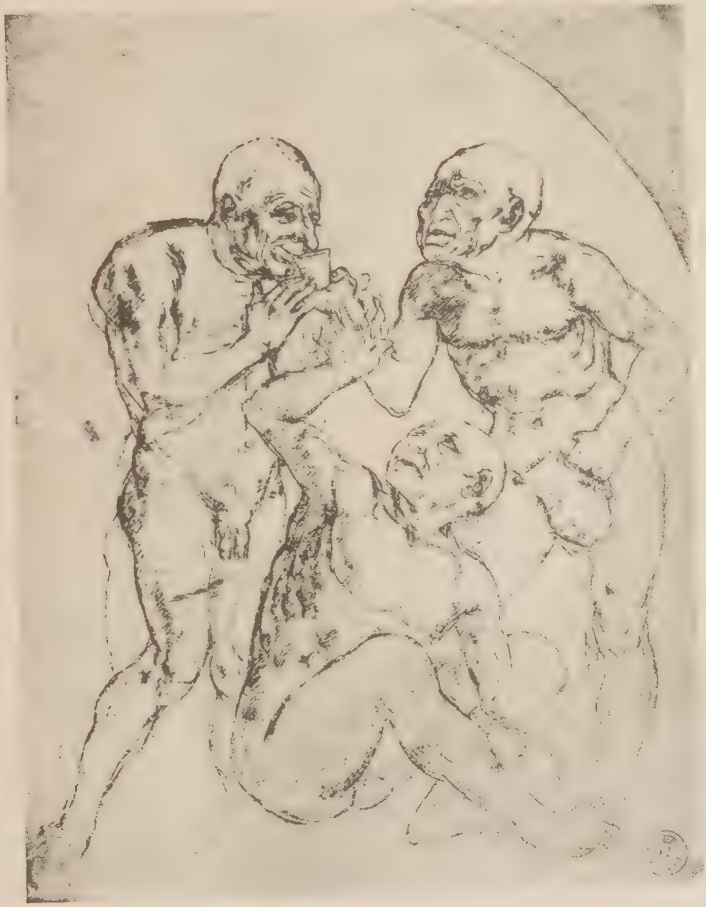
More than any one else Quentin Metsys seems to have been swayed by this spirit. Opalescent tones melting into one another envelop the nervous play of facial expression and gesture in his etherealized personages. Women of a goddess-like delicacy, with almond eyes and long slim fingers, live a mystical life among transparent glassy columns and carpets with exotic embroideries. Diaphanous veils are wound in their hair, sparkling jewels encircle bosom and wrist, golden ornaments and carvings heighten the splendour of thrones and canopies. The men have an air of distinction, their compressed lips show intelligence, their gestures a consciousness of their own greatness. They know how to speak wisely, to bear themselves proudly. It seems strange enough to find wild rude fellows with hanging noses and wide mouths suddenly appearing in this select circle, to the apparent destruction of all harmony. But in fact this startling contrast has a salutary effect. At one stroke uncouth Flemish vehemence cools an atmosphere overheated by excessive sensibility. The reaction in the mood of the creative artist is, however, so violent that he now leans as far toward caricature as he did before toward sentimentality.

Often and with good reason Quentin Metsys has been compared to Leonardo da Vinci. In his work as in Leonardo's the contours are effaced by filmy shadings;

he, too, takes pleasure in giving his figures a feminine delicacy, even to a weakening of the masculine type; and with him also reaction means the depicting of monsters. But while Leonardo, as an Italian, had an inborn distinction and a nature that demanded moderation in all things, Quentin Metsys, striving for mastery in one thing, often lost the feeling for another.

Moreover, the work of the southern artist was known to the northerner. This is evident in certain drawings in the Uffizi at Florence which are there attributed to Pieter Breughel the Elder, but are much more probably the work of Quentin Metsys and are doubly noteworthy as a complete revelation of his contradictory characteristics. They might be studies for a *kirmess* with dancing carousing peasants — a picture that would have been unspeakably grotesque. A bald and beardless, misshapen old man with an abnormally large head and spindle shanks is dancing, a satanic smile on his lips. Another, running with outstretched hands, throws his skirts to the wind. A third, who looks like an old toper, staggers drunkenly about with tucked-up sleeves. Again, a horrible trio of old men are drinking together; the dreadful long nose of one of them dips into the contents of the cup that he is draining with indescribable gusto, while the others — the standing one holding a jug, the second crouching on the ground — are trying with bizarre grimaces to take the cup away from him. And on a fifth sheet an old man with a cudgel is striking at a man lying on the ground and clothed only in a scanty mantle and a loin-cloth.

Such drawings reveal a remarkable mental state. What a contrast between these grimacings and these



QUENTIN METSYS, THREE MEN CAROUSING

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

QUENTIN METSYS, SEDUCTION

COLLECTION OF THE COUNTESS POURTALES, PARIS

artistically managed gestures, between these coarse contours and the nervous touch that tremulously follows every hair and every wrinkle! The same contrast appears in other works by the same hand, as in the grotesque couple, on a panel belonging to the Countess Pourtalès in Paris, composed of a handsome artful affected minx and a horrible old man who makes coarse advances to her, and in the Adoration of the Magi formerly in the Rodolphe Kann Collection at Paris and now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, which shows a delicate Madonna, a diminutive Child with small refined features, a grizzled old king, and a throng of attendants grotesque and sensual of face. There is a certain kinship with the satires of Erasmus in these pictures, altogether different in spirit from the outbursts of wholesome bourgeois humour in a Dürer or a Luther.

It is known that Dürer came into personal relations with the cultivated circles of Antwerp. He drew the great scholar of Rotterdam busy with a sharply pointed pen over some intricate piece of work, and received in payment from Erasmus a Spanish mantilla. He also visited "Master Quentin" in his home, and we can imagine how he laid his knotted fingers in the nervous hand of the slender Antwerp painter, how he must have marvelled at the elegant fittings of the studio. In his journal he expresses his wonder at the furnishings of the guild-house of the painters of Antwerp, at the silverware and the choice viands with which their table was spread; and after his visit to St. Michael's Abbey he exclaims: "In Antwerp they are not sparing of such things, for there they have plenty of money." It is touching indeed when at one place he remarks that, for the entry of

Charles V, the painters and cabinet-makers of Antwerp had erected a triumphal arch at a cost of four thousand guilders, and immediately afterward records among his scanty earnings the sale of sixteen prints of his Little Passion at four guilders apiece.

We can hardly wonder that at Antwerp the German artist, avid of new impressions, was touched by artistic influences which he turned to good account. For example, his St. Jerome, now in the museum at Lisbon, has an affinity with the conception of Metsys. The inspiration is generally thought to have come from Dürer and, in fact, there are numerous more or less faithful Dutch copies of Dürer's picture, which remained for several years at Antwerp; in especial, variants of it were constantly produced in the studios from which came the group of artists who go by the name of the *pseudo* Herri met de Bles, and in others which had relations with the Master of the Death of the Virgin.* Nevertheless the original conception must have been Quentin Metsys'. From his Money Changers, now in the Louvre, which was painted before Dürer's visit to Antwerp, it is only a short step to the half-length of St. Jerome. It is true that no original of Metsys' composition has yet been discovered, but there are half-length representations of the saint, indoors and out of doors, painted by Metsys' followers — Marinus van Roymerswaele, Jan van Hemessen, and others — which stand much nearer to his manner of conception than to Dürer's.

* To give a few among dozens of examples I may cite the pictures at Carlsruhe, at Schleissheim, and at Genoa (Palazzo Bianco), and those in the Uffizi, in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, and in the collection of Dr. Stillwell of New York.

QUENTIN METSYS, ST. JEROME

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

However this may be, whether it was Dürer or Metsys who inspired the other, it is precisely in the picture where superficially they draw nearest to each other that their difference in character most clearly appears. Compare Dürer's picture at Lisbon with one, recently discovered and attributed by Friedländer to Metsys and now in Mr. Johnson's collection, which shows St. Jerome at half-length standing against a landscape background. Dürer portrays a passionately studious scholar striving for a knowledge of the truth, a gloomy ascetic with a wild and staring glance who tries by sheer force of will to penetrate the world of thought. He has arrived at a conviction of the nothingness of existence and endeavours to impose it upon others by insistently pointing to the skull. With Quentin Metsys, on the other hand, we see a peaceful monk, absorbed in quiet prayer, who half sadly, half ecstatically gives himself up to the mysteries of religion, and who has come to terms with the world in a resigned yet not wholly joyless spirit. With Dürer every line, every detail appears as clearly and sharply as does the determined mood of the saint. With Metsys everything melts into soft forms, into a mystic twilight from which gleam out only the deep red of the saint's mantle and the pale tone of the dying sunset. Metsys is less forceful than Dürer but more subtile in the rendering of delicate shades of feeling, and is therefore particularly well suited to our time which has a special liking for these psychological semitones. No one else among the elder Dutchmen abandons himself so gladly to dreamy mystical sensations and unusual delights of line and hue. None understands as well as

Metsys how to make strong splendours of colour shine through a thin veil of mist, or how to paint the tremulous surface of life so that we see the blood running in the veins, so that we feel the breath that comes from the slightly parted mouth, and divine the movement of the lips, the trembling of the nostrils, and the quivering of the nerves in the tips of the fingers.

V

THE BROTHERS GOVERT AND RAPHEL CAMPHUYSEN

NOT many of those among the genre-painters of Holland whose main province was the landscape with animals rose above mediocrity. Five of them — Albert Cuyp, Paul Potter, Isack van Ostade, Adriaen van der Velde, and Philip Wouwerman — have always, and of right, borne the most famous names. But because of the general change in taste from the romanticism of the middle of the last century to a love for the sincere unvarnished interpretation of nature, certain of their fellows, such as Berchem and Lingelbach, Dujardin, van Bergen, Both, and Pynacker, who until about thirty years ago were ranked as high, please us much less to-day. When an exceptional personality like Rembrandt's does not absolutely impose upon us its own way of looking at nature, we would rather read sentiment into a picture ourselves than accept it as prescribed by an artist of lesser genius. The Dutch painters, once so greatly prized, who depicted Italian landscapes virtually from hearsay, had not enough imaginative power to make their dreams of the south

convincing. Sentimentality took its place, and well-endowed artists, who might have done admirably in simple transcripts from their own surroundings, produced untruthful sugary pictures which in their lack of substance ill-beseem the strong and sober Dutch character.

In times of changing taste, however, we are apt to go too far in the way of elimination. To give an instance, two of the five great painters just named, Adriaen van der Velde and Philip Wouwerman, had almost been condemned when, fortunately, it was discovered that they had joined the company of the merely clever only at times, in their later years, and that both had produced masterly works of a genuine Dutch sort — van der Velde in his unpretentious silvery paintings of forests or pastures, done between 1657 and 1661, and Wouwerman in his pictures of sand-dunes, often almost void of figures, and occasionally in his winter landscapes.

It is much easier to reject what no longer appeals to us than to discover works of other kinds which may satisfy our new needs. Yet the storehouse of the past is so rich that the seekers of every period may make their own discoveries, and find substitutes for the famous figures that are gradually sinking back into obscurity. Two painters who, with the art-lovers of to-day, may well take the place of such as Berchem or Lingelbach are Govert Camphuysen and his brother, Raphel Dircksz Camphuysen.

As regards the history of the Camphuysen family, Bredius and Moes have done good service in their thorough treatise published in *Oud Holland* in 1903.

So carefully have they considered the work, not only of Govert, but also of an elder pair of brothers, Rafel and Jochem Camphuysen, that in respect to details of fact I may here confine myself to a brief summary.

Two generations are brought to our notice. Rafel and Jochem Camphuysen, working from about 1620 to 1660, belong to the first period of the Dutch art of the seventeenth century, the time of Frans Hals and van Goyen. Rafel painted winter scenes and pictures of canals in the style of the period, simple, colourless, and definite; Jochem, by preference, woodland scenes at an evening hour, somewhat in the spirit of Aert van der Neer but harder and emptier in drawing and composition. One of the few examples of Jochem's work that is signed in full was formerly in the Dahl Collection in Düsseldorf and is now in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia.

As neither of these brothers is an important representative of van Goyen's period neither excites more than a passing interest. The family of artists to which they belonged accomplished its best in the work of Govert Camphuysen, a really important artist, and of his brother, Raphel Dircksz, a painter still quite unknown, for they were at work when Dutch painting was in its splendid maturity, in the time of Rembrandt. Although Raphel Dircksz was the elder of the two, the witness of his style and the fact that he lived twenty years longer than Govert incline us to place him in the third period of the seventeenth-century art of Holland. We shall find him an admirable exponent of the Dutch classic style, still too little esteemed, of the sixth and seventh decades of the century. Thus the Camphuysen

family illustrates in miniature the development of Dutch art.

The main fact in Govert's career is that he lived for ten years in Sweden. Born at Gorkum in 1623 or 1624, at the age of twenty-two he moved to Amsterdam where he stayed about six years. Then followed the years in Sweden, from about 1652 to 1663, and then a second period, of ten years, at Amsterdam, ending with his death in 1672.

It is not recorded why he went to Sweden, a country then virtually unknown to the painters of Holland, but we may guess how it happened. As a result of the Baltic trade of the Dutch their architects had won a footing in Sweden as well as in the other Baltic countries, and in the year 1652 one of the greatest of them, Jost Vinckboons, the creator of the Trippenhuis at Amsterdam, was called to Stockholm to take charge of the erection of the Ridderhuset, the senate chamber of the aristocracy. Although he stayed only four years he impressed his genius upon the Ridderhuset which, except for the addition of a French roof, was completed according to his plans. Perhaps the most beautiful Dutch building in any foreign country, it is one of the chief ornaments of a city rich in important seventeenth-century structures that show a Dutch influence. As Govert Camphuysen probably came to Sweden in the same year as Vinckboons and, like Vinckboons, must have had relations with the aristocracy, for we soon hear of commissions from the court, it is natural to suppose that the Amsterdam painter was directly or indirectly induced by the Amsterdam architect to make the journey to the northern city.

It can hardly have been by virtue of his personal merits only that a simple painter of pasture-lands and cattle won a footing in a foreign land and even attained to honour at a foreign court. More probably his success was largely due to the high repute which in his time Dutch art enjoyed in stranger lands. The influence that the art of any country exerts beyond its own borders is usually a result of over-production. In the middle years of the seventeenth century Holland possessed such a multitude of artists that she could spare of her wealth to the foreigner and, indeed, was obliged to do so if her painters were to gain a livelihood. At home, private and public buildings were pretty well filled with pictures and, as commissions fell off, the artist was all the more ready to welcome the call of foreign countries. On the other hand, these countries gladly received the influence of Dutch art, for it had then attained to heights whence it was visible from afar, and was beginning to serve not merely local needs but those of the whole civilized world. Sweden was not the only country visited by Dutch artists. They streamed at the same time into Germany and England, France and Italy, Denmark and Norway, and even into regions beyond the sea. To name only a few, we find one still-life painter, Jan Weenix, at Düsseldorf, and another, Hendrik Fromentiou, at the court of Berlin. Ter Borch was busy at the peace conference at Münster in the year 1648. In England Dutch portrait painters in particular — Jansen van Ceulen, Mytens, Hanneman, Lely — quickly achieved success. France showed favour to genre-painters who took their themes from the life of the court, painters like Caspar Netscher

or Jacob van Loo, the founder at Paris of the family of artists of this name. The portrait painters Jacob Wuchters and Juriaen Ovens and also the younger Karel van Mander, a painter of heroic compositions, were at work in Denmark. And to Norway had already drifted Allaert van Everdingen, an excellent landscape painter whose impressions of the north reacted upon Dutch art in the work of Jacob Ruisdael. It is not strange, therefore, that Camphuysen should have adventured in a region where he may well have seen wide opportunities opening before him as the first representative of the pictorial art of Holland.

The course of his development must have been determined during the six years that he had previously spent at Amsterdam. Here he must have come into relations with Paul Potter, with whose work his own has so often been confused that more than half his pictures are still mistakenly assigned to Potter. It is true that Potter was by three years the younger, but he developed very early and appears to have been of a simple, self-sufficient nature. Nor need we assume that in the relations of the two artists Potter alone had anything to give. Perhaps they jointly formed their style. At all events, in many of their pictures they are much alike as regards the peasant types, the occasional preference for a *plein air* kind of treatment, and the lively stippled handling, each retaining, nevertheless, his own artistic personality — Potter's narrow but within its limits well-rounded and complete; Camphuysen's deficient in certain directions but studious, experimental. Camphuysen may have been influenced also by the precocious Isack van Ostade, who was of about the same age, even

GOVERT CAMPHUYSEN, PORTRAIT GROUP

MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

though Ostade lived at Haarlem, for the currents of art flowed freely back and forth between that city and Amsterdam. Occasionally Camphuysen's outdoor scenes, like the Halt at the Tavern, but more especially his interiors flooded with a golden light, remind us in theme and in conception of Ostade's more naïve and more charming art. With Cuyp, again, Camphuysen has sometimes been confused, as in a small portrait group in an open-air setting in the museum at Stockholm. There are, in fact, resemblances in the foliage and in the way that the light falls on the trees, but of a kind as easily explained by a current tendency evident in almost all the landscapes of Rembrandt's time as by a direct relationship between Camphuysen and the Dordrecht painter who worked at a distance from the cosmopolitan activities of Amsterdam.

As only a very few of Camphuysen's pictures are dated, little more can be said about his development. To his first Amsterdam period probably belong most of his kitchen and stable interiors, two of which, according to Bredius, are dated 1645 and 1650, and also perhaps some of his landscapes, particularly those, like The Farm near the Village, owned by Mr. Johnson, and a similar painting sold at auction by Frederick Muller at Amsterdam in 1912, where the technique is Paul Potter's. To his Swedish period may presumably be assigned all the works that are now in Sweden, listed to the number of twelve in Olof Granberg's valuable treatise on the private collections of the country. They include all sorts of subjects — stable interiors, peasant brawls, pictures of poultry, cattle-pieces, and even one portrait, with which must be placed the portrait group in the Stock-

holm Museum, painted (as it bears the date 1661) toward the end of Camphuysen's stay in Sweden. To the last decade of his life doubtless belong important works like the great woodland landscape in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, the Halt at the Tavern in the Johnson Collection, and the Pasture near the Castle in the Wallace Collection at London — carefully composed canvases, all conceived in the same mood, where the figures are better proportioned and less rude in effect than in earlier examples, and more often represent persons of an upper class.

As was the case with all the important painters of Rembrandt's time, Camphuysen did not confine himself to a single narrow range of subjects so that they became a mere basis for the application of a good formula. Instead of that exaltation of the exterior aspect above all else which had prevailed in the time of Frans Hals, the pictorial content came again to the front. Great masters like Rembrandt treated it imaginatively; lesser ones, who had to depend more upon direct observation, thought to make their art more interesting by varying their themes. Thus Camphuysen seizes upon all the diverse incidents of the rural life of Holland, painting kitchen and stable interiors, tavern scenes, meadow landscapes, park views, cattle markets, farmyards, chickens and ducks, and portraits. Even a bear fight and an equestrian portrait are named as among his legacies. Nor can it be said that one kind of subject-matter or another suited him best — only, that he was perhaps least successful in portraiture and that he was particularly good in landscapes with cattle, although in other directions he sometimes did equally well.

Instead of enumerating the many pictures that we have from his hand (a task in the main already accomplished by Bredius), I shall merely try to give, by means of a few diverse examples, a general idea of his art.

In America he has found a good friend, for Mr. Johnson owns seven excellent specimens of his work, some of them almost unique of their kind. One of the most unusual is the remarkable picture of a Hen Alarmed by a Cat, where, sitting on her nest in a stable with a couple of chicks near by, the white hen looks around, apprehensive and angry, at the insolent intruder inquisitively thrusting his head through an opening in the wall. Here Camphuysen's individual point of view clearly appears if we compare him with such painters as Hondecoeter and Albert Cuyp, the first that occur to mind in connection with pictures of poultry. He chooses a more dramatic moment than Cuyp whose chickens flock together undisturbed by enemies, and concentrates more than Hondecoeter whose multitudinous fowls are usually flying wildly about, frightened by a descending bird of prey. The colouring also is different, less golden than with Cuyp, less diversified than with Hondecoeter. The white of the hen and the chicks, the light coming in at the window, and the reflections on the shining utensils stand out in strong relief from the prevailing warm brown tone. The broad and vigorous touch, as well as the incidence of the light, reminds us of Rembrandt, from whose influence in the middle years of the century no one at Amsterdam could escape. But all his own, I may repeat, is the remarkable dramatic quality of

Camphuysen's picture, where not only the predatory spirit of the cat, but also his predatory attitude, is suggested by the portrayal of the head alone, and the alarm of the experienced hen is delightfully contrasted with the simple curiosity of the inexperienced chick.

The finest of Camphuysen's interiors are perhaps in the museum at Brussels and the Carstanjen Collection at Munich, but I prefer to cite, as showing more fully his characteristic tendencies, the one in the Museum at Copenhagen, a domestic scene in a peasant's cottage where a single great barn-like room serves as living-room, kitchen, and stable. In the foreground sits a woman near a cradle which she is rocking by means of a cord. Not far away the fire is burning in the chimney-place and a cat is warming herself. On the other side of the picture the father is throwing fodder to the two cows that stand in the stall. Sunlight, streaming in at the open door, illumines the scene and especially the still-life features of the foreground.

There is good reason why this picture should resemble in its composition the work of more than one of the ablest painters of the time, for the artists of Holland were so closely associated in cities separated by such short distances that, especially in this most prolific period, the ties between them were astonishingly close. The intimate expression of domesticity in Camphuysen's scene reminds us of Pieter de Hooch, the rendering of the lofty barn with its brown shadows and the careful drawing of its framework suggest the two Ostades, and the still-life of the foreground, which consists of a copper kettle, an old Delft dish, a jug of the stoneware of Cologne, and a pendant beef's liver very brightly

GOVERT CAMPHUYSEN, HEN ALARMED BY A CAT

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

coloured, recalls the treatment of such things in the best early pictures of van der Poel or in those masterpieces in the grand style of Dutch genre-painting, the small interiors of Willem Kalf. The individuality of Camphuysen lies in the blending of these diverse elements into an integral whole presenting a fresh version of the most modest kind of plebeian existence — a version which lacks, indeed, the delicate poetry of Pieter de Hooch but, on the other hand, has none of the coarseness of most of the Dutch painters of peasant life.

Nowhere has the art of genre-painting been better understood than in Holland, where a leisurely episodical method of exposition suited the sedate temperament of the artist. Avoiding the attempt to force the imagination of the observer into sympathy with a lively episode, he gives his theme only such an amount of interest as may lead the eye hither and thither into the various corners of the picture and thus apprise it of the full beauty of the artistic interpretation. What remains in our memory of the actual incidents in the pictures of Ostade, of Metsu, of Ter Borch? Nothing; nothing more than a recollection of delightful afternoon moods, of gay costumes, of charming gestures. Camphuysen also was a master in the art of choosing the right theme to serve as a starting-point for a fine atmospheric rendering of nature. A good example is a picture as plentifully enlivened with figures as the Halt at the Tavern in the Johnson Collection.

A heavy farm-wagon carrying a merry company has stopped before a cottage that nestles cozily under the trees. Two couples in the wagon have already provided themselves with wine, while the man of the third pair,

helped by the girl, is climbing back into his place. The fiddler on the driver's seat is playing his little tune, and the driver is feeding the horses. While the host disappears into the house with the wine-can, the hostess busies herself with a new arrival, a well-dressed gallant on horseback to whom she is handing up a glass of beer. It is a harmless episode without dramatic point, invented simply to give interest to the interpretation of an open-air summer mood. Therefore the painter has spent less time and pains in characterizing the thick-skulled peasants, awkward of gesture and good-humoured of face, than in rendering the golden rays that fall through the dark green foliage, the bright red and yellow costumes vividly relieved against the warm brown shadows around the cottage, and the soft tones of the evening sky.

While this picture shows Camphuysen as a rival of painters like Isack Ostade and Cuyp, with whom the Halt at the Tavern was a favourite subject, a simpler composition of a wholly different kind — the Pool in the Forest, now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg — points in another direction. A luxuriant oak wood surrounds a quiet pond on the borders of which two cows are grazing. In the shadow of a mighty oak that mirrors its trunk in the water two men are drawing in their nets, while on the other side of the picture an aristocratic sportsman on horseback examines, as a page holds it up to him, a hare that he has shot. The portrayal of a forest pool recalls the most beautiful works of Jacob Ruisdael, dating from the seventh decade of the century; the incident of the horseman conversing with a person on foot often occurs in the

GOVERT CAMPHUYSEN, THE HALT AT THE TAVERN

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

to the meadow in the foreground where the light-brown spotted cows look as though they grew organically from the brownish-green grass. And over this simple homely bit of nature spreads the vaporous silver-clouded sky, wrapping the narrow strip of land in a luminous veil of air.

The small weaknesses of excellent painters are usually more evident than the greater faults of those whose mediocre gifts enable them to treat all things with equal skill but without artistic charm. So we see at once that Camphuysen is in some respects inferior to painters like Berchem and Lingelbach. He is ponderous, slow to apprehend, and weak in imagination. He is unwilling to attempt more than a direct transcript from nature, and is often unskilful when driven to compose. Again and again he takes counsel of other artists, and he never ceases to search and to experiment. The figures of men and animals in his landscapes often seem mechanically posed and are weak in drawing, particularly when foreshortened. At all these points he was outdistanced by the accomplished Italianizing painters who, possessed of a clever facility in design and execution and a sureness in drawing that seldom went wrong, soon turned their backs on nature and worked out some sort of a scheme which they used with perfect mastery, and to which they clung as long as they lived.

Nevertheless a painter like Camphuysen seems to us more important and more interesting, for anything in process of growth, anything that reveals an inner struggle, appeals to us more strongly than the finished, easily accomplished result behind which nothing lies concealed. Camphuysen's pictures seem more real than those of

GOVERT CAMPHUYSEN, THE FARM NEAR THE VILLAGE

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

the painters just named because in every detail he had to recur to nature, because we live over again with him the effort of production. As he is not deceived in regard to his deficiencies, he always begins to work afresh in directions where he has not yet ventured, hoping that here he may achieve perfection. Therefore his work is richer in varied themes and problems than is that of the clever craftsmen who constantly turn in a circle, repeating themselves over and over again. From the sincerity of his character springs also the faithful loving manner in which he portrays his native soil, the warm sympathy with which he pictures the humble life of the cottage or the pasture. Only a genuine attachment to his surroundings made possible such an harmonious characterization of the farmstead, such a good-natured commentary upon its inhabitants, such an appealing study of all its paintable corners. And only from a genuine artistic endowment could an art develop which persuades one to forget the theme as such in the admirable rendering of its aspect, the incident in the mood that it evokes.

In the Johnson Collection there is a cattle-piece which has often been remarked for individuality in composition, simplicity of handling, and an admirable rendering of evening light. A number of cows standing stiffly about in various positions almost fill the canvas up to the front; a castle with a tower and a garden wall form the background. More than one painter has been suggested in connection with this remarkable picture, which bears no signature: Hendrik Ten Oever whom we know in several effective landscapes where, however, the

figures are placed farther away in a silhouette-like fashion; Gerit Berckheyde who generally painted, although in a more conventional arrangement, cows at pasture by a city wall in an afternoon light; and finally Govert Camphuysen. As this last name seemed the most plausible, I attached it, tentatively, to the description of the picture in my catalogue of the Johnson Collection, despite the fact that the owner was never quite convinced of the correctness of the attribution. Almost the first picture I saw offered for sale in Paris in 1913 appeared, even at a glance, to be a second example of this unknown artist. It was then in a dealer's hands and has since passed into the collection of Mr. John D. McIlhenny in Philadelphia. Unsigned, it gave no help in regard to the painter's name. But soon afterward, by a happy chance, I visited the Semeonow Collection at St. Petersburg in company with the owner of the first-named picture. Here we discovered a third painting from the same hand, and here at last was the wished-for signature. The name was Camphuysen, and although the Christian name was not Govert but was concealed in a monogram hard to decipher, nevertheless the attribution in the Johnson catalogue was not far wrong, for the painter was a relative of Govert's who stood close to him in his art.

Neither of the Camphuysens of the elder generation, neither Rafel nor Jochem, could be thought of, for the style showed that the picture could not have been painted in their lifetime. Otherwise no painter of the name had been mentioned at any length excepting a younger Govert or Godefridus, a nephew of the well-known Govert, who was born in 1658, married in 1678,

and as early as 1686, it seems, exchanged his occupation for that of a wine-dealer; and he, again, cannot have painted our pictures. In the first place he lived later than the time to which we must assign them, none of a similar kind having been produced in Holland after 1680; and in the second place his name does not correspond with the monogram. It may be added that the solitary picture of this Godefridus that is known, a Nativity in the manner of Cornelius Saftleven, seems to be but a bungling piece of work.

Only one other Camphuysen — Raphel Dircksz, an elder brother of the well-known Govert — is anywhere mentioned as a painter, and he is thus referred to but once, quite incidently, and in words that have not even been preserved in an original document of the seventeenth century. But although we have these words only in an eighteenth-century transcript of an entry in the archives of the city of Leeuwarden, they are more trustworthy, perhaps, than has hitherto been thought: *Raphael Kamphuysen. Volgens begravenis Briefje Op't kathuysens Kerkhof* 1691 *den* 6 *Juni, geweest schilder.* (Raphael Kamphuysen. According to the bill for the burial in the Carthusian Churchyard, 1691, June 6, was a painter.)

The artist who, as we are thus informed, lived until 1691, was born in 1619. He and his younger brother Govert were the sons of Dirck Raphaelsz Camphuysen, renowned in his time as a poet. As the second Raphel was called for his father, his full name was Raphel Dircksz Camphuysen, while the full name of his brother, in which also the father's name was incorporated, was Govert Dircksz Camphuysen. It can no longer be

doubted that the painter we are seeking was this Raphel Dircksz, for the monogram on the St. Petersburg picture consists of an *R* and a *D*.

Although Raphel was older than Govert, his style seems more like Govert's carried farther than like an earlier manner. He must have painted the three pictures that are known to us at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh decade of the century, for from this period date all the works by other masters which are composed in a similar way — deliberately, with calculated intention. But even though this kind of composition represents a step beyond Govert's naïvely realistic style, none the less Govert may have been influenced by his brother, particularly in his later years. In the works he then produced — in the Halt at the Tavern, in the great picture at St. Petersburg, the one in the Wallace Collection, and others besides — we constantly find horses or cows so placed that they are seen, foreshortened, in a direct front or back view. Raphel also had a predilection for this unusual kind of foreshortening, and it was from him, most probably, that Govert learned it. This we feel because in Govert's pictures the positions often seem forced and motiveless, and are so faultily depicted that they but half perform their intended service in indicating gradations of space, in developing the depth of the scene, while, on the other hand, Raphel's pictures prove him a master in drawing and in treating the problems of space — one whose every form and line has a definite constructional meaning and assists the effect of the composition as a whole.

In Raphel's picture in the McIlhenny Collection the

RAPHEL DIRKSZ CAMPHUYSEN, CATTLE

COLLECTION OF MR. JOHN D. MCILHENNY, PHILADELPHIA

development of the different zones from the foreground to the background begins at the left-hand corner where the foreshortened horse leads the eye directly to the middle distance. A second line runs toward the right, over the three cows that are turned in this direction, to the boy sitting by the ditch whose staff forms the connecting link. The intentional character of these lines is proved by the close alliance of the successive curves formed by the backs of the recumbent beasts. A third gradation of space is defined by the line that leads from the white cow lying at the left of the picture to the steer seen in profile in the middle distance, and then to the cows of diminishing sizes in the farther distance near the wall of the church. These lines, without any accessory details to help them, develop the receding zones in regular succession at equal intervals. In addition, main horizontal and vertical axes also appear in the composition. The vertical ones are formed at determined intervals by the horse, the church tower, the standing cowherd, and the singular tower at the right, and the horizontals by the shadow of the ditch and the long outline of the body of the church and the adjoining wall, while both verticals and horizontals are echoed in brief by the rectangular profile of the steer in the centre of the canvas. These straight lines give the picture a solemn reposefulness that well befits the evening hour. The void passages, notably in the architecture where hardly anything speaks except factors of height and breadth, produce an impression of great spaciousness, of monumental design, which is even more striking when the picture is viewed from a distance.

The artist, it should be noted, employs his architect-

ural features to establish the dominant lines on his canvas and then impresses an architectural stamp upon the other elements, the figures of the men and the animals. This accord between architectural forms and animate figures appears again in the smaller picture in the Johnson Collection. Here also the animals are so placed that they develop the successive zones of space toward the background, which again is formed by a church and a wall, but the studied character of the design is less evident because it is masked by a greater profusion of detail.

The third picture, the one owned in Russia, has no architectural elements. The development of the steps that give its depth to the scene is effected wholly by means of a number of animals and a herdboy. Probably the latest in date of the three, it is the simplest in composition and the most colourful, the black of the cows, the red of the boy's costume, and the orange tone of the sky forming a brilliant colour scheme.

Raphel Camphuysen is one of the few Dutch artists who subordinated details for the sake of well-defined lucid composition. Accomplished in drawing and in the rendering of space, he had no reason to be afraid to show his constructional lines and forms unadorned and unconcealed by a profusion of minor facts. In the simplifying of his figures and the rounding-off of their contours he goes as far as Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch, whose works, it must be confessed, have a greater charm than his by reason of their more attractive themes. As in Vermeer's compositions so also in Raphel's, the foreground objects sometimes project beyond the first plane in order that they may the more

RAPHEL DIRKSZ CAMPHUYSEN, CATTLE NEAR A CASTLE

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

quickly lead the eye of the observer into the picture. The lighting recalls Pieter de Hooch, and so does the construction of the rectangularly shaped figures such as we see in the group in Mr. Johnson's example. And Raphel shares with both these artists the desire to accentuate horizontal and vertical lines and to gather the elements of the design into rectangles. In another place I have tried to show how this method of composition recurs again and again in important paintings of every period of Dutch art, how it seems to be a fundamental principle which may be explained, perhaps, by the rectangular ordering of the actual landscape of Holland. More consciously than before, Dutch painters employed it in the time of the most perfect flowering of their art, shortly before its decline began — roughly speaking, between 1655 and 1675. Heir to the rich artistic developments of two generations, in full possession of the power to imitate nature, the artist then began to strive more consciously for the embodiment of æsthetic ideas. Especially at Amsterdam, the centre of artistic activity, a style was developed which, if the word had not acquired a displeasing significance, might be called academic. Assuming a high degree of understanding in its public, the art of painting endeavoured for its own sake to pay more attention to problems of form, of design. Undoubtedly there was a connection between this tendency and the tendency of the architecture of the period, as represented by the work of Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post, to strive for a classic simplicity, to return to the geometrical in fundamental forms. In painting, the leaders of the movement were Rembrandt, after the year 1655, and such masters as Pieter

de Hooch and Ter Borch. And from this point of view the art of Raphel Dircksz Camphuysen assumes additional importance, for he was the only representative of the geometrical style in the domain of the landscape with animals.

VI

DUTCH CERAMIC TILES

DUTCH tile-painting was at its best during the great period of Dutch art, the seventeenth century. As the Hollanders were then the leaders of all Europe in the paths of world-wide traffic, it may easily be believed that their tiles, like all the other products of their applied arts, found a market in many lands. They were exported to the German coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic and as far to the north as Denmark, and in the other direction as far as Spain and Morocco. Even in the East Indies, in the old houses of Java, as well as in certain parts of America, they must still exist in numbers. But they found their natural place in Holland itself, in the land of frequent downpours where the walls of the houses can scarcely dry out, where earth and sky are for the most part attuned to neutral harmonies of colour, and the inhabitants long for whatever is bright and gay, white and shining.

Style in the products of the applied arts has usually a utilitarian as well as an æsthetic basis. We may say, for example, that the Dutch love brass utensils and take pains to keep them bright because as their

paintings convincingly prove, they take pleasure in golden lustres and the shimmer of reflected light; but we may also say that they polish so assiduously because they must, because a day suffices to dim the brilliancy of door and window fastenings. And so it may be said of their tiles that while they served the practical purpose of protecting the walls against dampness they also harmonized admirably with the white walls and with the floors which in fine houses were of white marble, in peasants' cottages of wood sprinkled with white sand.

When the best tiles were produced, during the first sixty or seventy years of the seventeenth century, they were used but sparingly in the decoration of rooms. They were set in a row along the foot of the wall where they served a practical end as baseboards. Sometimes in subordinate places, in the bedroom, the corridor, or the kitchen, they covered small expanses of wall breast-high. And they were also used in and around the fireplace where two or three rows of them were set vertically on the two projecting wall-spaces, and often across the space above the fireback. Here again they were very useful as they could easily be washed free of soot and from their glazed surface radiated more heat than other substances.

The Dutch living-room of the seventeenth century was so very simple, so white and almost bare in effect, that the tiles with their pleasing hues applied on a white ground introduced a welcome note of colour. As decorations they had the same value, perhaps, as one of the few pictures that constituted the adornment of the walls. And it was because they were of so

PIETER DE HOOCH, INTERIOR (SHOWING TILES)

RIJKS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

much importance in the room and were not used in quantities that in the seventeenth century they were artistically fashioned. When in the eighteenth century the custom arose of lining certain rooms, such as kitchens, from floor to ceiling with tiles, the value of the individual tile was less considered.

The production of ceramic tiles must always remain a handicraft. We cannot demand of it the highest artistic results, and still less can we expect to find great masters among the designers of patterns. In general, artists made designs that were mechanically copied by artisans. But the repertory of such patterns was astonishingly large in the period when natural objects, figures and plant motives, were reproduced. Among forty or fifty tiles there may not be two alike. Nor at this time, it is certain, was the actual execution wholly in the hands of artisans. It is easy, upon examination, to decide whether the brush of an artist laid the strokes with sureness and intelligence or whether the stiff hand of an artisan copied a pattern in a slow painstaking fashion. In fact, the records tell that certain painters in oil — for example, Frydom and Abraham de Kooge — were also tile-painters. And at Delft, the centre of the faience industry, painting and ceramic art undoubtedly exerted a reciprocal influence. It suffices to remember the chief painters of Delft, Jan Vermeer and Carel Fabritius, who, whether they were actually or only indirectly Rembrandt's pupils, stand in their choice of colours, in their preference for white and blue and a light yellow, at the opposite pole from Rembrandt with his golden-brown colour scheme. Their favourite colours are precisely those of the Delft faience-

painter. And their manner of setting their figures against a light-coloured wall and letting the white background dominate the colour scheme is the exact reverse of Rembrandt's way of letting the heads show light against a dark ground, but recalls the contemporary ceramic style. It can hardly be by chance that the picture of Carel Fabritius, in the museum at the Hague, of a goldfinch in front of a white wall was painted at Delft. It stands quite by itself in Dutch pictorial art, but similar motives are common on individual tiles, and in the eighteenth century a single bird sitting on a branch or in a cage with a white wall behind it was one of the most popular designs for the tile-pictures that were then composed with a number of parts. Again, with Vermeer of Delft not only the choice of colours but also the handling with its glassy polished effect and beady fat touches is so like the treatment of faience surfaces as to make it probable that the painter of pictures busied himself also with this branch of the applied arts.*

It is not likely that actual patterns for tiles with figure subjects will often be discovered. Prints by Jacob de Gheyn the Elder were used, indeed, for a series of soldiers in armour, not very well done and now rarely found. But in most cases the designs were made especially for the tiles; otherwise they would not so well have served their purpose as decorations. The designers were artists like Antonis Palamedeo, Pieter

*As early as the year 1866 Burger-Thoré called attention in the *Gazette des beaux arts* to this probability and cited certain tiles, in collections now dispersed, as possibly painted by Vermeer. But his statement that the designs seemed to reproduce pictures by Vermeer refutes rather than supports the idea that they were executed by Vermeer himself.

Codde, Willem Buyteweck, and Leonard Bramen. Examples of such drawings with a single soldier who seems to stand upon air, as the only indication of space is a short line of shadow, may occasionally be met with in print collections, as in the one at Amsterdam and in Dr. Hofstede de Groot's at the Hague.

Prints may more often have served as patterns for the later Biblical scenes. There are no well-known series of them, but I once found, offered for sale, a picture Bible, without any text, in which the illustrations were drawn in outline and enclosed in borders as they are on tiles. Perhaps it was a tile-painter's pattern-book. In any case the important point is that the patterns were prepared especially for the tiles or, if they were taken from other sources, were so adapted that it is impossible to distinguish them as having been borrowed from the art of the engraver or the painter.

As regards the technique of tile-painting, it is noteworthy that in the old days the ground was first covered by a white glaze upon which the design was executed in colour. To-day, on the contrary, the painting is usually done directly on the paste, and afterward the whole surface is covered with a translucent whitish glaze. The same difference in the process marks, of course, all old Dutch faience-painting as compared with the modern Dutch product. Thus the old Dutch potters could be indifferent to the colour of the clay that was to be painted upon, as it would be entirely covered by the glaze. At first the material was sometimes reddish, sometimes yellowish, and not very clean. Later it became a yellowish-white and cleaner but more brittle.

Three periods may be marked in the development of tile-painting. An exact chronological arrangement is hardly possible, but it may be said in a general way that the main development covered the years between the end of the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth century, the first period running approximately from 1580 to 1630, the second from 1630 to 1670, and the third, broadly stated, from the end of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth.

The products of these three periods may easily be distinguished by the eye. In the first the ornamental character predominates. The decoration is broad and vigorous and fills the entire space, the colours are a strong yellow and red-brown with a dark blue and a copper-oxide green, the pattern carries well, and the tiles are relatively thick, measuring about one centimetre.

In the second period, when Dutch art was in its prime, the patterns have the greatest variety. To the plant motives, which become much more realistic without any loss of style, there are added figures of soldiers and artisans and sea-monsters, a few landscape motives, and, above all, ships. The *horror vacui* of the first period, when the whole field was covered, is forgotten. A single motive — a flower, a solitary figure, a vessel — is set freely and lightly in the space so that the white ground plays an important part in the result. The colour of the pattern is blue, the beautiful Delft blue that was never achieved except in this period, the second half of the seventeenth century. The technique has been perfected, the white is milky and shiningly bright, the glaze brilliant yet not vitreous in effect. The tile has lost one third of its thickness.

TILES, ITALIAN INFLUENCE
ABOUT 1580–1630

In the third period the dominant colour is a manganese purple, a weak mixed tint that speaks of the Rococo time. Decorative simplicity has vanished; here, too, the influence of the art of painting, which destroyed sculpture in Holland, has worked disastrously. There is an evident desire to put a whole picture on a single tile, to paint landscapes and scenes with many figures, especially pastorals and Bible pictures. Together with these there reappears a decorative ornamentation, spreading over several rows of tiles and rich but restless and weak in effect — a Rococo design of leafage and flowers that in Dutch hands has become rather heavy and ungraceful. The tiles are now only half as thick as those of the first period. Most of the tile-pictures were made at this time.

The first period, when there was an interplay of various influences, presents the greatest number of historical problems. The technique was still primitive and unskilful, yet the outcome, in spite of all dependence upon foreign styles, is full of *naïveté* and strength. No such brilliant intensity of colour was achieved in after days. In this respect these tiles, be the disparity what it may, can be compared only with those of the Orient, for Spanish and Italian tiles are usually duller and less varied in colour, or else their small area is sprinkled with such numerous little spots of colour that they make no coherent colour impression. If we put Dutch and oriental tiles side by side, the northern specimens, equally intense in colour, may be distinguished by the warm and heavy but very decorative tone from the oriental, which depend for their decorative value upon a luminous clarity, a sensuous luxuriance of effect.

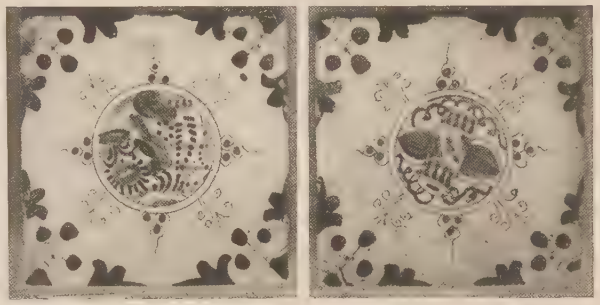
In developing from the greatest colouristic richness to monochrome this Dutch product took an opposite course from the majolica ware of Italy. The reason can easily be read. The ceramic art of the Dutch followed, chronologically, that of the Italians and was inspired by their late polychromatic style. The simplicity of the colour combinations in the earlier Italian majolicas had been due to a primitive undeveloped technique and to a connection with the colourless faience of Spain. The contrary development at the north, from polychromatic to monochromatic design, was part and parcel of the general character of the art of Holland.

In touching upon the connection with Italian majolica wares we come naturally to the question of the beginnings of tile-making in Holland, which is identical with the question of the origin of Dutch faience. A knowledge of the tiles themselves contributes largely to a solution of this much-discussed problem.

Usually the beginnings of the Dutch industry are placed in the early years of the seventeenth century. The records of the city of Delft mention faience-painters for the first time about the year 1610. The earliest specimens that we have of their handiwork, imitations of Chinese porcelains with designs in blue, are attributed by Havard to dates between 1640 and 1650, and are cited as the earliest by Brickmann also. In style they correspond with the second period in tile-painting. Heer Pit, the director of the Netherland Museum at Amsterdam, takes a long backward step in the matter of dates because of certain small apothecary pots, imitated from *albarelli*, that were found at Middelburg on the site of an apothecary shop which was

TILES, ITALIAN INFLUENCE

ABOUT 1580–1630



TILES, CHINESE INFLUENCE

ABOUT 1650

not in existence at a later date than 1580. These pots he believes to be the earliest existing specimens of Delft faience, made about 1570. It is a question, however, whether they may not be Italian, for Wallis has published pictures of just such pots in his writings on the Italian majolicas of the fifteenth century. In England also such shapes were very often imitated during the eighteenth century in the factories that produced the so-called Lambeth Delft, as is shown by specimens at Liverpool and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. On the other hand, Pit is certainly right when he claims a Dutch origin for two or three fragments discovered at Delft which, according to a date upon one of them, must have been made in the second decade of the seventeenth century. They have precisely the strong, brightly varied colours of the oldest tiles. A plate in perfect preservation, which I saw in the museum at York, is perhaps a little older, and the fact that it was made at Delft may be assumed with some confidence from its affinity with Dutch tiles.

But we must draw our knowledge of this early period chiefly from the tiles unless a larger number of early Delft faience pieces are discovered. It is by no means an unwarranted assumption that tiles were made in quantities at an earlier time than faience vessels. Certainly they came sooner into general use. In the pictures of de Hooch, Vermeer, Metsu, and other painters of the 'sixties and 'seventies of the seventeenth century, where tiles may usually be seen on the walls of the rooms, the furnishings include scarcely a single Delft vase, although the descriptions in the catalogues of certain picture col-

lections give this name to objects that are really Chinese porcelains.

A more definite account of the earliest use of tiles has been given by Heer Muller, the archivist of Utrecht. He says that they took the place of the so-called "fireplace stones" — bricks impressed with sunken patterns — which bear no dates later than those between 1607 and 1614, with occasional exceptions that are dated as late as 1621. Thus the tiles drove out the "fireplace stones" between, approximately, 1610 and 1620. Muller has reference to those with figures done in blue, and he is right in saying that the costumes indicate the beginning of the seventeenth century. At least this is true of some of them where the figures wear the dress of the time of Hendrick Avercamp, Esaias van der Velde, Aert Aertzen, and their fellows. But the figures on many others display the modes of the 'thirties and 'forties. In any case tiles with polychromatic ornament must have been made some time before the blue-and-white ones, which show a more developed technique. And two specimens, recently on sale in Holland, speak of the 'eighties and 'nineties of the preceding century, bearing pictures of women, the head and bust only, in the dress of the second half of the sixteenth century.

These years are indicated also by that relation to Italy which is patent in all the Dutch art of the sixteenth century. Beyond a doubt, technical methods were acquired directly from Italy. It cannot here be discussed whether they came in by way of Antwerp where an Italian craftsman, Guido da Savino, was at work, or by way of Spain where at Seville there was an Italian tile-factory,

BLUE AND WHITE TILES
ABOUT 1630–1670

the products of which resemble Dutch ceramic wares. However this may be, there is evidence to prove that the earliest Dutch tile-painters had travelled as students in Italy and Spain.

On the oldest tiles the motives are Italian — pomegranates, large grapes, and quinces. From Italy also, in all probability, came the corner ornament, the lily, from which the various corner patterns on Dutch tiles of later dates were developed. And Italian, again, is the colouring — the predominance of orange-yellow and the use of a deep blue and a copper-oxide green. A thought of these motives and colours must recall to mind the fat-bellied pots made at Faenza in the early part of the sixteenth century. The contemporary tiles with figures of animals whose shapes Pit derives from oriental art have more resemblance to Italian tiles, probably also made at Faenza, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum and in the Forrer Collection at Strassburg. Spanish influence is now much less strong, persisting only, perhaps, in the enframing patterns and in the occasional occurrence of an arabesque design covering the whole field. This design, however, may have come in by way of Italy.

In the second period of tile-painting Chinese porcelain plays a part similar to that of Italian faience in the first period, although not of the same dominating importance. It influences the colour, for blue now replaces all other hues, and also the designs, some of which are taken directly from the Chinese. For instance, Mr. Victor de Stuers had in his possession at the Hague tiles with a familiar Chinese design of birds sitting among blossoms. Sometimes, too, we find more formal pat-

terns with emblems, such as rolls of paper from which extend long cords and flourishes, that are common in Chinese work of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. And, finally, the only corner ornament which cannot be traced back to the lily is a group of short blue bands, a misunderstood meander pattern of Chinese origin.

The ornamentation of Dutch tiles suggests a number of æsthetic problems that can merely be indicated here. The artist had to deal with the need so to fill a small quadrangular space that the pattern would tell as a unit within the limits of the individual tile and would also lead up to its neighbours. He had to take pains to bring similar motives together when associating the tiles, and to secure in the different designs an approximation to symmetry. Above all, in his figures and landscapes he had to adapt the subject to flat decoration and yet preserve truth to nature. For this reason he intentionally avoided effects of distance in his maritime subjects, portraying the water without any indication of perspective, and so placing the vessels that they supply a vigorous silhouette while not leading the eye into the distance. Nevertheless the impression of a freshly observed bit of nature is admirably preserved.

During the nineteenth century nothing individual in the way of tiles was produced in Holland. It is not necessary to speak of the attempts, wholly unsuccessful but affectionately fostered by the people, of certain modern Dutch manufacturers to revive the old art by imitating it. The costly tiles and decorative plates turned out by these firms show landscapes after Maris or Apoll, and even figures of Rembrandt's with ill-drawn

BLUE AND WHITE TILES
ABOUT 1630–1670

A B

POLYCHROME TILES
A ABOUT 1725 B ABOUT 1750

expressionless faces swimming in glaring blue tones. The colours are as intolerable as the designs — the grayish white of the ground and the hard blue of the painting, the revival of which has failed because it is not a colour that was born of the taste of the faience-painter of to-day. The diversified mixed colours, like pearl-gray, pink, and lilac, that were not known in elder times, are rather more successful, for they were produced in answer to an independent modern desire. The designs are absolutely undecorative. It is all wrong when faience attempts to vie with painting in oils, which must give that illusion of space, of perspective, that the earlier painters of faience so absolutely renounced.

It is pleasant to know that in recent years a few artists have been trying to do new things in the spirit of the old, using other colours, other designs, and a newly mastered technique. But they meet with little encouragement because they have not the pernicious cleverness displayed in the imitations of old Delft. The tourist in Holland still prefers to load himself down with these worthless wares when, if he does not care for good modern art, he might at least search in the curiosity-shop for one or two of the old tiles which preserve more of the artistic spirit of the old days than can be found in a whole cargo of modern Delft.

VII

REMBRANDT AT THE LATIN SCHOOL

IN the biographies of Rembrandt only a few words, for the most part inconclusive, are given to his years at school and at the university. In truth, it may not seem essential to know upon what school benches the bored young artist sat, for, possessed by a single idea, he soon managed to devote himself to art. He can have been little more than a year at the university when he entered a painter's studio. But it was not only this brief period at college in Leyden that brought him into contact with the humanistic culture of the day.

As he was only fourteen at the time of his matriculation, the entry regarding it has been thought to indicate his admission to the Latin school. For instance, we read of a brief attendance at "the Latin school of the university," although there was in fact no connection between the school and the college; or we are told that "the parents took the boy out of the Latin school," although it is certain that he passed through it from beginning to end. This means that he enjoyed seven years or, if we add about a twelvemonth at the university, eight years of such instruction

as was suited to an embryo man of letters, for only those boys were sent to the Latin school whose abilities, in their parents' opinion, gave promise of scholarship. This explains why boys entered the Latin school earlier than they do to-day, at the age of seven. To the humanists the number seven still seemed significant. For seven years, according to Erasmus, the future humanist should play, for seven he should attend school, and for seven the university. So it squares with the schedule if Rembrandt graduated from the Latin school at fourteen. If, as seems evident, his parents meant to bring him up to be a scholar he must have shown in early youth distinct intellectual ability, whether or no the father yet recognized the direction in which it pointed; and certainly it was not to Rembrandt's detriment that at first he was led along plainly prescribed paths.

Artists of genius who instinctively develop into exponents of a phase of civilization need a certain amount of knowledge as a basis upon which, in manifold ways, their powerful imaginations may build. This does not mean that they must be, like Rubens or Velasquez, aristocrats with the means of culture always close at hand. They may be, by birth and breeding, simple folk like Dürer or Michelangelo, provided that the new intellectual life of their time is brought conspicuously to their notice, even if only, perhaps, by a small circle of its representatives. Then, dowered with broad powers of comprehension, they will assimilate the proffered material and will embody its essentials in that conception of life which, without formulating it in words, they express in their art.

According to the general verdict, Rembrandt was the least cultivated of all great artists. It is true that he must always have retained a certain slow simplicity of nature, but the course of his life tended to make of the miller's son, in mind and in manners, an accomplished man. The twenty years that he spent, rich and famous, in Amsterdam cannot have failed to affect him, but the training he received in his youth must also have contributed to his intellectual development.

In a history of the Leyden Latin school there is mention of a school ordinance which took effect soon after Rembrandt graduated; and as it was evidently meant not to alter but merely to formulate existing conditions it shows what books the boy must have studied or read. It also informs us in regard to something more important — the spirit that guided the teaching.

In the year 1600 the Latin school was rebuilt by the municipality for the furtherance of "piety, the languages, and the liberal arts," as is inscribed above the entrance of the building which still stands to-day. In the year when Rembrandt entered a wing was added for the rector and the boarders (among whom Rembrandt was certainly not counted), and the graceful portal of this wing, now in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, was adorned by a figure of Pallas Athene, with the legend, not quite so graceful, *Pallas is veilig door haar schild* (Pallas is safe because of her buckler) and by two lions bearing armorial shields. The school contained six rooms for the six classes from *Sexta* to *Prima*, only the last of which was divided into two — Lower and Upper *Prima*.

The name of the school shows that the main goal of education was a knowledge of Latin, then the universal language of the learned. As far as possible it was to be used by the boys in conversation. In addition to a grammar the members of the sixth class were given at once a book containing conversations by Cordier and an introduction with examples for use in daily life prepared by Erasmus of Rotterdam. From the fifth class onward two hours a week were devoted to disputations about scholastic sophistries *pro victoria loci* — that is, "for a higher place" in the class. In the upper classes the pupils learned to extemporize and to write Latin compositions upon themes chosen by themselves; and now they were obliged to speak Latin out of school as well as in school, and to keep watch upon one another lest they lapse into their mother tongue. The old humanistic idea of education still prevailed — the development of men of all-round ability. It must be confessed that the method was superficial. What were considered the liberal arts were a calligraphy rich in flourishes, the ready writing of formal Latin epistles, and the composition in complicated metres of Latin hymns and odes. To these things long school hours were devoted year after year, and thus the men were trained who, with an eye to immortal renown, wrote letters like lengthy treatises and prefaced their books with endless poems that quenched in the reader all sense of the purport of the work. As the school ordinance said, the pupils must be able, as cultivated men, to make a Latin verse in the turning of a hand. A comprehensive acquaintance with Latin authors seemed an essential preliminary. The fifth

class made a beginning with the letters of Cicero, whose wisdom, especially as it is contained in his orations, thenceforward accompanied the boys throughout their school life. Then followed in due order Terence, Ovid's Tristia and Metamorphoses, Virgil's Eclogues, the fables of Æsop, Cæsar's Commentaries, certain cantos of the Æneid, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, Horace, and others. As is the case to-day, instruction in Greek was somewhat subordinated to instruction in Latin, although the ordinance pointed out that the Grecian tongue was the foundation of all wisdom and that without it Latin itself could not be rightly understood. In the fifth class the boys began the Greek alphabet, in the fourth class grammar and the texts. Rembrandt read Euripides, although neither of the two great elder tragedians, Sophocles and Æschylus. Hesiod and Homer are likewise named.

It was also thought that learning should influence the man as such. Good manners were inculcated, albeit, according to our ideas, in a wonderful way: the pupils were to wean themselves from roughness and rude behaviour by reciprocal displays of these traits. On the other hand, they were taught how they ought to behave by specimens of courtly Latin phrases which were free, indeed, from prudery but flat and insipid and seldom fit for the mouths of children. For example, sixth-class boys were to greet a young married woman with the words, "God grant that you may make your husband the father of a fine child," and to a person who sneezed they were to exclaim, "Good luck," or "May God direct it for the best." A good influence upon manners was expected from the distiches of Cato

and the maxims of Solon, and from the Ethics of Waläus, a Christianized version of Aristotle's lessons in behaviour.

This gives an idea of the value set upon Christianity in the education of youth. It stood upon an equal footing with classic antiquity. Everything else was subordinated; for example, Rembrandt learned no modern language. All else that was thought to pertain to general culture was hastily disposed of in the first class. Then something of philosophy was taught (logic was combined with the instruction in Latin), and also the higher mathematics, geography, and a little history which, from what we know of the time, must have related only to the development of states and above all to the constitution of the Roman state.

The importance of religion was announced by the inscription over the entrance to the Latin school, of which the school ordinance gave, in this sense, a further explanation. An appeal to the pupils of the sixth class in the preface of the first Latin grammar ends with the words: "In the name of Christ, the guide in all studies, farewell!" In Greek the boys learned to repeat the Lord's Prayer in the original and to read the evangelists. School began and ended with prayer in common, followed, in the morning, by the reading of a chapter of the Bible. In the upper classes the Psalms of David were sung "so that the boys might be accustomed to the pious tunes." They were charged to attend church twice on Sunday, in the morning and the afternoon, and had to repeat in school what they remembered of the sermon. The Heidelberg catechism and in connection with it the teaching of dogma

were taken up astonishingly early, in the second class. Religious instruction ended in the first class with discussions of heretical opinions.

There is little to be said about Rembrandt's university life, which followed upon his course at the Latin school, for we do not know how long it lasted. He was enrolled as *studiosus litterarum* and therefore attended the lectures of the professors of a preliminary faculty, introductory to those of the three main faculties. As is indicated by the age of very many of the students, from fourteen to sixteen, the course did not differ much from school instruction. Rembrandt must have enlarged his knowledge of Latin grammar and Latin authors and have followed courses in the history of dogma and of the Christian Church; and perhaps it was at this time that he learned Hebrew which, as inscriptions on his pictures show, he understood to some extent.

This training at school and university left lasting traces in the artist's attitude of mind. In his time humanistic and Christian scholarship were more closely related to life than they are in our own. At Leyden even the ordinary man listened with pleasure to the disputes of the learned upon points of criticism, and the "small burgher" strove, as he still does in Holland, to form an opinion of his own upon dogmatic questions. In so far as it is possible to divine Rembrandt's intellectual attitude from his pictures and from the records, it may be said that Roman antiquity meant more to him than Grecian, as at school Latin took rank above Greek. His knowledge of Latin is revealed by occasional inscriptions on his pictures and portrait etchings; and that it pleased him in later life to look into the books

REMBRANDT, DIANA AND CALLISTO

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR, NEW YORK

he had known in his youth seems probable in view of certain representations of themes taken in especial from Ovid, Livy, and Cicero which, like his Biblical illustrations, adhere so faithfully to the text that we can hardly think that he created them wholly from memory or utilized the work of other artists.

Baldinucci relates that on the walls of the house of a merchant who belonged to the magistracy Rembrandt painted in oils a number of pictures from Ovid. It is uncertain whether this statement is correct or not. We can hardly connect it with the drawings and paintings of scenes from Ovid that still exist, as these date from various periods of Rembrandt's career. I may briefly indicate what they are, following approximately the order in which the poems themselves are arranged:

1. Io. Rembrandt has presented three moments in this familiar myth. In a drawing at Berlin and in one in the Victoria and Albert Museum at London,* Juno leads the metamorphosed Io to Argus. Two drawings, owned by Léon Bonnat and Walter Gay in Paris, show Mercury lulling the warder to sleep with his flute. A fifth, in the collection of J. C. Robinson at London, and a sixth, in the Albertina at Vienna, represent the beheading of Argus.

2. Callisto. In a picture at Anholt Rembrandt strives to render in a drastic way the words in which the poet describes Diana's discovery of the nymph's misstep. The scene between Diana and Actæon is also introduced into this picture. A drawing of the Callisto episode, of about 1635, is in my possession.

* These drawings and the others that will be named are described by C. Hofstede de Groot in his *Katalog der Handzeichnungen Rembrandt's*. Haarlem, 1906.

3. Europa. A picture of the Rape of Europa, owned by Herr Kappel of Berlin, shows the moment when the god changed into a bull slipped gently from the shore:

> Left the dry meadow and approach'd the seas
> Where now he dips his hoofs and wets his thighs,
> Now plunges in and carries off the prize. . . .

and when Europa

> . . . . looks backward on the shore
> And hears the tumbling billows round her roar;
> But still she holds him fast; one hand is borne
> Upon his back, the other grasps a horn;
> Her train of ruffling garments flies behind,
> Swells in the air and hovers in the wind.

As far as my knowledge goes, no other artist has so faithfully adhered to the text in the placing of Europa's hands.

4. Diana and Actæon. In 1630 or thereabouts Rembrandt both painted and etched the single figure of Diana as she puts her feet in the water and, startled, looks around for Actæon who is no longer visible. In the picture at Anholt already named (2), which was painted five years later, the artist borrows directly from the poet: Diana, accompanied by a number of nymphs, dashes the water on the bewildered huntsman, the metamorphosis of whose head is already accomplished. Rembrandt's contemporaries must have recognized his faithful following of the text, for in 1677 a print from the main group of this picture was used as an illustra-

REMBRANDT, THE RAPE OF EUROPA

COLLECTION OF HERR KAPPEL, BERLIN

tion in a Brussels edition of Ovid. In two drawings, one in the Louvre, the other at Dresden, the artist again makes use of the same material. The second, which dates from the 'sixties, shows the nymphs, in accordance with the text, pressing closely around the goddess to conceal her from prying glances.

5. Narcissus. In a drawing at Lille Rembrandt has shown Narcissus mirroring himself in the water. A mythological representation at Amsterdam which for a time was called Narcissus, but incorrectly, as the figure gazing at its own reflection is that of a young woman, is no longer considered genuine.

6. Pyramus and Thisbe. This story, retold in poetry a few decades earlier by Rembrandt's great kinsman in the spirit, Shakespeare, inspired the artist of brush and pencil also. In Berlin alone there are three drawings of the final scene of this tragedy of love, and to these must be added one at Amsterdam, another at Munich, and a third in the Friedrich August II Collection at Dresden. In one of the Berlin sketches Thisbe gazes at the dead Pyramus with a pitying glance. In the one at Amsterdam she clasps her hands in sorrow at the sight. Grieving, she holds her head in her hands in the second of the Berlin drawings. Following the course of the story, in the sketch at Dresden she draws the dagger from the breast of her beloved. And, finally, in the third Berlin example and in the one at Munich Thisbe stabs herself with the dagger of Pyramus.

7. Andromeda. A picture dating from about 1632 with the single figure of Andromeda was discovered and acquired by Bredius not long ago. It seems to have

been cut away at one side, although it is hard to imagine how a Perseus could have been introduced.

8. Ceres. From the story of Ceres Rembrandt chose two episodes. In a picture of the Rape of Proserpine, now in the Berlin Museum, he tells with the impetuosity of youth, yet with a discreet respect for the text, of Pluto's furious chariot-ride, showing how the flowers which Proserpine had gathered in a basket and in her uplifted garment "fall from the flying skirt," and how her friends convulsively cling to its long folds while the frightened maiden calls in despair to her mother as the dark steeds drag the chariot into the deep-flowing lake called Pergus near the walls of Enna. The second episode appears in a drawing that dates from the 'fifties where three figures are standing quietly together: the goddess, a torch in her hand, is quenching her thirst, while a woman looks wonderingly at a boy who is mocking at Ceres.

9. Marsyas. A drawing at Berlin, a naked man bound to a tree and gazing upward with a despairing glance, is more probably a Marsyas than, as has been assumed, a Prometheus.

10. It has not yet been decided what scene from the underworld is shown in a drawing at Munich where a number of shades are pleading with Pluto and Proserpine, Cerberus is on guard in the foreground, and a woman leads a warrior to another masculine figure. Ovid tells similar tales in connection with Orpheus and Eurydice and with Ino and Athamas.

11. Philemon and Baucis. Rembrandt made several drawings of the visit of Jupiter and Mercury to Philemon and Baucis. Those at Berlin and at Am-

REMBRANDT, THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE

KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

sterdam are studies for the picture, painted shortly before 1660, which is owned by Mr. Otto H. Kahn of New York, and show the artist still searching for the moment best suited to representation. First he depicts Philemon and Baucis preparing the repast — Philemon, trying to grasp the goose, falls to the ground; then he decides to render the moment when the gods reveal themselves — the two old people kneel in prayer before them. In these compositions the artist proves his familiarity with the antique world by showing Jupiter and Mercury in half-recumbent attitudes, by introducing the sacred birds, and by utilizing for the head of Jupiter, as is very evident, some work of sculpture like the Zeus of Otricoli.

12. Vertumnus and Pomona. This story, which in his day was very often interpreted by the Flemings and the painters of Utrecht, attracted Rembrandt also. His version of it is preserved in a drawing now at Stockholm.

In addition to the Metamorphoses of Ovid Rembrandt made use of various passages from Livy's history. In several drawings he has told of the fortitude of Mucius Scævola, in others of the passion of Tarquin, who, as Lucretia repulses him, threatens her with a dagger; and in one drawing and several paintings he has portrayed the death of Lucretia. At Madrid there is a picture of the dying Sophonisba, the spouse of Syphax and daughter of Hasdrubal, to whom Masinissa sent the poisoned bowl. Even a passage from the eighth Philippic of Cicero must have dwelt in the artist's memory, for a drawing at Rennes shows the scene between Antiochus and the Roman consul, other-

wise quite unknown to the art of Holland. To an external impulse, a commission from the city of Amsterdam, was due the great composition of the year 1662, the Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis, a theme supplied by the Annals of Tacitus. Probably the same may be said of a large picture in the possession of Sedelmeyer, the Parisian dealer, which, following Livy or Valerius Maximus, represents Suessa ordering his father, Quintus Fabius Maximus, to dismount from his horse.

In another group of illustrations of the stories of ancient Rome the subjects are clear enough but I cannot feel sure of the source from which Rembrandt derived his knowledge of them. They include a mythological scene, Jupiter and Antiope; one from the history of the Roman republic, Scipio and the Spanish Bride; and one from the period of the decline of the empire, the blind Belisarius sitting as a beggar by the wayside. It cannot be said whether the etching of Cleopatra mentioned in the inventory of Clement de Jonghes soon after Rembrandt's death has been lost or should be recognized in one of those that we possess.

Finally, there are still a few works representing single figures of Roman deities, Minerva peacefully occupied in her study, Bellona panoplied for war, Mars with the fiery eyes of youth watching for an adversary. During his last years Rembrandt was at work on a Juno that has not been preserved.

In comparison with the many works for which Rembrandt drew inspiration from Latin authors those inspired by the writers of Greece make a scanty showing. An etching, not a very successful one, of Jupiter and Danae and a well-known large painting, the Ganymede

of the Dresden Gallery, were produced at the time when he took the most interest in the antique world, between 1630 and 1635. From this period we have also a Greek inscription on a picture, the beginning of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, which Rembrandt doubtless took from the Greek Testament that he had preserved from his schooldays. When in his later years he occupied himself with Homer, he was probably attracted more by the imaginative presentation of great men and poets than by that charm of strange tales which had appealed to him at an earlier time. He owned a copy of the familiar portrait bust of Homer and pictured to himself how the blind poet sang — either alone, or like the venerable Goethe with only a scribe beside him to whom he was dictating, or, surrounded by a circle of wise men, reciting his poems under the open sky. Passages from the Iliad and the Odyssey must have remained in the painter's memory, for from the one he took the beautiful scene between Achilles and Briseis which Rubens also painted, from the other the story of the vengeance wreaked by Vulcan when he caught Mars and Venus in a net and exhibited them to the gods. Perhaps it was Jan Six who brought Rembrandt, at more than fifty years of age, into touch again with the Greek world, for the drawing of Homer on Parnassus of the year 1652 is dedicated to Six and is bound into the guest-book, called the Pandora Album, of the Six family, and only a few years earlier Rembrandt had etched an illustration for Six's tragedy, Medea, a copy of which he had in his little library.

As upon Shakespeare, so also upon Rembrandt his

contemporaries made two diverse demands: he was expected to exert a moral influence and to represent the figures of antiquity. Seldom could either great artist successfully solve the problem so inartistically presented. In Shakespeare's case we feel it superfluous when the moral of a drama is set forth at its conclusion, and we cannot fully enjoy scenes of poetic import when they are filled with pictures from the antique world. Neither the poet's portrayals of antiquity nor Rembrandt's allegories show his art at its best. As didacticism disturbs us in the poet's case so in the painter's does the Baroque setting of his scenes, hardly suited to a world which, according to modern ideas, must have been symmetrically and harmoniously fashioned, but which revealed itself to the fancy of a young self-confident northern painter in the likeness of his own time. Moreover, the tales of ancient Greece and Rome are less familiar now than they were to a cultivated Hollander of the seventeenth century, and therefore the fundamental human significance that underlies them in Rembrandt's work is not immediately apparent. It is not as quickly grasped as when an incident is drawn from a Biblical narrative. Something better, perhaps, has taken the place of this kind of learning in the modern mind — a conception of the artistic spirit of antiquity; and it no longer coincides with the ideas of the painters of the Baroque period.

None the less Rembrandt, who was born to express the essence of all the intellectual and artistic aspirations of his race, has given us the best interpretation of the classic world that was produced in his fatherland. How unbearable are the antique or allegorical essays

of the other important Dutchmen of his time — Jan Vermeer's commonplace New Testament allegories, Jan Steen's grotesque picture of the Rape of the Sabines or of the Temperance of Scipio, Metsu's unmeaning blacksmith Vulcan or his clumsy allegories of Justice or Faith, Paul Potter's almost comical Dutch Orpheus surrounded by tame beasts, the incredible Argus of Adriaen van der Velde — not to speak of lesser masters and their unintentional drolleries! It is true that in the earlier works of Rembrandt himself the gods make merely the effect of costumed Dutchmen in an environment of customary studio properties. But in the course of time his constant familiarity with the works of art of other nations developed the ability to give his scenes a more truthfully historical setting, and as his types came more into keeping with the prescribed conditions the disparity grew less between the two worlds, the classic and the Dutch, that he wanted to combine. How truly Roman seems to a naïve beholder the Triumph of Suessa where lictors march beside the military commander while the insignia of Rome — eagles, banners, and escutcheons — are carried behind him. And looking at Rembrandt's hoary Homer, who can think first of the fact that he was created by a Hollander of the Baroque period? Who can fail to recognize at once a great artist telling of a poet of the older time in a language that every age must understand? If the greatest artists of northern countries concerned themselves at times with the study of the antique, despite the feeling they must have had that to accept the ideals of an unfamiliar world would at the outset do them more harm than good, it was because they were

rightly convinced that in the end a knowledge of a purer language of form could not fail to exert an inspiring and enlightening influence upon their own style. It was by reason of Rembrandt's acquaintance with the art of other peoples, and especially those of the south, that his personages developed from inhabitants of a small Dutch city into figures which to the eye of every observer seem to express the best in his own nature.

Not only Rembrandt's portrayals of antiquity, but also certain fragments of humanistic ways of thinking that are preserved in his biographies, remind us of the training that he received at school. Calligraphy, verse-making, and "disputations" are occasionally mentioned. For many years the painter was on friendly terms with Coppenol, one of the foremost calligraphists of Amsterdam, twice he painted his portrait, and in the inventory of his art collections there is mention of a portfolio of admirable specimens of writing which were probably from Coppenol's pen. Rembrandt himself wrote a hand that shows training. Very crabbed and unskilful by comparison is the writing of his father or his mother. He does indeed form his firm letters according to his own sovereign will, but he likes to adorn the long ones with flourishes, loves scrolling initials, and has a personal and singularly beautiful way of arranging his page.

What seem to us in his letters stilted or involved expressions may well have been thought in his day the elements of beauty of style. The current liking for "occasional" poems speaks emphatically from numerous verses in praise of his work that were composed even during his lifetime. Some are of the most naïve

and simple kind, like the lines that his pupil Philip Koninck wrote on one of the master's landscapes:

Dees tekeningh vertoont de buiten amstelkant
Soo braaf getekent door heer Rembrandt's eygen hant.

(This picture shows the Amstel's outer strand,
So bravely painted by Heer Rembrandt's hand.)

And from distiches of this sort the tributes range to the most Baroque rhymed compositions where sophisticated phrases about the relations of nature and art are woven into complicated rhythms. At least one little rhyme, a witness to the uprightness of his character, has been preserved as Rembrandt himself wrote it in 1634 in the album of a German traveller from Weimar:

Een vroom gemoet
Acht eer voor goed.

(An upright spirit
Holds honour above wealth.)

Verse-making of this kind reveals that striving for clever turns of phrase which, in all times of high artistic development, characterizes the conversational and literary intercourse of cultivated men, as we realize if we remember the sonnet-writing of the Italian Renaissance and the dialogues in Shakespeare's plays. And this striving must have been more pleasingly expressed in verbal contests — in "disputations," to use the term that was current in Rembrandt's scholarly time — than in the "occasional" poem which put trifling thoughts into complicated forms in the effort to preserve them to all eternity. Hoogstraaten, one

of Rembrandt's pupils, tells how he and his studio associates often disputed with the master upon theoretical questions, and such conversations were probably couched in the lively sparkling turns of phrase then in vogue. There was more concern for art in the utterance, for piquant brilliant retorts, than for the expression of significant ideas. For instance, one member of the circle, Carel Fabritius, asks: "How may one know whether a young painter gives promise of ability?" Hoogstraaten answers: "By the fact that, as befits his age, he not only seems to love art but actually is in love with the portrayal of nature." Or Hoogstraaten asks: "How can one tell whether a story is well interpreted?" And the answer runs: "From a knowledge of the story." There is more meaning in the advice Rembrandt himself gives his pupil when he bothers him with needless questions about the secrets of the artist's craft, but Hoogstraaten cites it chiefly on account of its admirable form — partially lost, of course, in a translation: "Take pains to use well the knowledge you already have; thus you will soon enough discover what is now concealed." Nothing testifies more clearly to the influence that humanistic culture exerted upon Rembrandt, who stood at the centre of this little circle of painters, than these deliberately artistic locutions in which at a later period he still indulged.

It is not necessary to speak farther of the importance to Rembrandt of the religious views so assiduously inculcated at the Latin school. In this connection no stress should be laid upon his school training, for the main thing was the religious feeling that was a funda-

REMBRANDT, A SCHOLAR

PRINT ROOM, DRESDEN

mental part of his nature before he went to school. Yet when we remember that the boy must have had a daily familiarity with the Bible — even at home where his mother loved to absorb herself in its perusal, and perhaps read it aloud to him while he was painting her portrait — then it seems worthy of note that outside influences should have strengthened early tendencies in so marked a degree. Nor may we forget that in later days Rembrandt loved to portray the Psalmist whose songs he had sung in school, that he owned a harp, and that he was able to depict in an impressive fashion the effect of the harpstrings and the voice of song upon the wrathful spirit of Saul.

It is certain that Rembrandt did not turn his back in disgust upon scholarship when he determined to become a painter. His life's work shows that as time went on he seemed to behold, as though encircled by a nimbus, that humanistic career upon which he had entered as a child, partly, perhaps, by his own desire. In after years, so a contemporary declares, he was always one of those who liked to learn from books how to give their pictures a truly historical aspect. In fact, something like the scholar's spirit must have been part of his endowment. His art collections are another proof of this. They included, as we know, important products of almost every land and period; and while he acknowledged their value by the frequent use he made of them in his own compositions, he showed in regard to the art of other men a just discrimination, based upon historical knowledge, which in his time the historians of art did not possess — not even Vasari or van Mander. Only the modern science of criticism

judges in so well-balanced a way. Rembrandt stands almost by himself among great artists as regards this many-sided view of art; Rubens alone had the same cosmopolitan outlook. But while, as the elder artist, Rubens seems to have thought little of the Dutch master, Rembrandt admired the great Fleming and his circle in spite of the fact that their art is so alien to his own that many lovers of the one find it difficult to do reverence to the other.

Rembrandt's understanding of the scholar's spirit is manifested also in external ways. No other Dutch painter portrays with so much pleasure and sympathy the sage who is striving for knowledge. Rembrandt idealized him in pictures that, as the logical successors of the studious St. Jeromes of Primitive painters, give these a broader significance, and he interpreted the characteristics of men of learning in portraits that are more veracious than those by other artists of the time. The scholars of Jan Vermeer or Gabriel Metsu coquet with learning; they are dandies who consider how they may sit most comfortably at their desks, and who love to listen to the scratching of their own pens. Those of Gerard Dou or Thomas Wyck are pedants or slovenly dirty bookworms who shut their eyes to the beauty of the world and think that they have compassed all knowledge because they live in a cage full of folios. But the earnest eyes of Rembrandt's sages tell that an inner impulse drives them to effort, that they make use of learning to express the best in their own natures, that they have seen much of life and can give much by giving of themselves.

VIII

REMBRANDT'S BLINDING OF SAMSON

THE mastery of chiaroscuro shown in Rembrandt's pictures may suggest that he was an artist of an equable temperament who lived out of the world in peaceful seclusion. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Strength is the predominant factor in his art. His technique is the best proof that his own nature expressed itself forcibly even when he was most deeply affected by the theme that he was treating. If, straying through the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, where all his contemporaries dwell under the same roof with him, we compare the excellences of one and another and then come upon a work of Rembrandt's, they all pale and shrink in the presence of his Promethean force. Manifold conceptions of art speak from their paintings. From Rembrandt's there speaks a personality that has more power than art of any kind. His way of seeing and of rendering what he has seen testifies to such strength of will and such an unremitting tension of the emotions that we are convinced that no one ever penetrated farther than he into the deep and hidden things of life, or fought the battles of the soul more valiantly.

In the products of his latter years this passionate intensity is a masked, a hidden, force. But there was a period in his career when he interpreted life with his full powers and with a direct and vigorous purpose — the period when his fame was greatest, between 1635 and 1640. And of no work is this more true than of his Blinding of Samson, a picture which was not rightly valued until it had been transferred from a badly lighted private collection in Vienna to the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

The hanging of Rembrandt's paintings, it may be noted, is not a matter of small importance. It is not by accident that more in regard to its placing has been written of the Night Watch than of any other picture. Rembrandt's art is as subjective as it is vigorous. It can come to its full flowering only in a special atmosphere, just as it needs for its right understanding a specially constituted observer. When Rembrandt presented the Blinding of Samson to his distinguished patron, Constantijn Huygens, he wrote: "Hang this picture, sir, in a strong light, and so that one may stand at a distance from it; thus it will appear at its best." This is the only mention of one of his own works in the few letters of Rembrandt's that have been preserved, and it refers to the matter of lighting.

Rembrandt's Blinding of Samson may be considered from various points of view. As a picture, quite apart from any questions of origin, it will at once impress both artist and layman. The layman will think primarily of the subject, and in this case he has a right to do so, for the theme and its dramatic shaping were important to Rembrandt himself. And who could

resist the appeal of this drama? — the sight of this Titan dashed from shining heights into nocturnal darkness, borne down on the right and the left by steel-clad hirelings as by two mighty cudgels while, triumphing in her joy, his vanquisher waves like a firebrand the "seven locks" of hair. But there is as much justification for the artist who, attentive to external qualities, admires the complicated arrangement of the picture, for with inimitable skill Rembrandt has achieved an harmonious interplay of movement and counter-movement, of plastic forms and unfilled spaces, of long-drawn curves and short rippling lines. The colouring — Samson is dressed in yellow, Delilah in blue, and the soldier with the halberd in red — is of the greatest simplicity yet of the greatest richness. It should be noticed how varied are the shades of the blue where it comes into contact with the costume of the *Landsknecht*, how it takes a pearl-gray tone when it stands near purple, or a sky-blue or, again, a violet-gray tone, according as it meets scarlet or red-brown, how the modifications of the red correspond to the incidence of the light, and what delightful tints the greenish lemon-yellow of Samson's doublet assumes under the strong illumination. At the same time each colour is appropriate to the character of the wearer: the strong yellow befits the herculean strength of the hero, and the flickering blue, the colour of yearning passion, suits the sensual excitement that possesses Delilah. Furthermore, the colours are made to play their part in the definition of space, for the succession of red, yellow, and blue toward the depth of the picture accords with the relative length of the ether-waves that produce these colours.

In addition to its general artistic interest this picture has an historical significance that must appeal to all who like to see great periods and the great spirits of the past mirrored in immortal works.

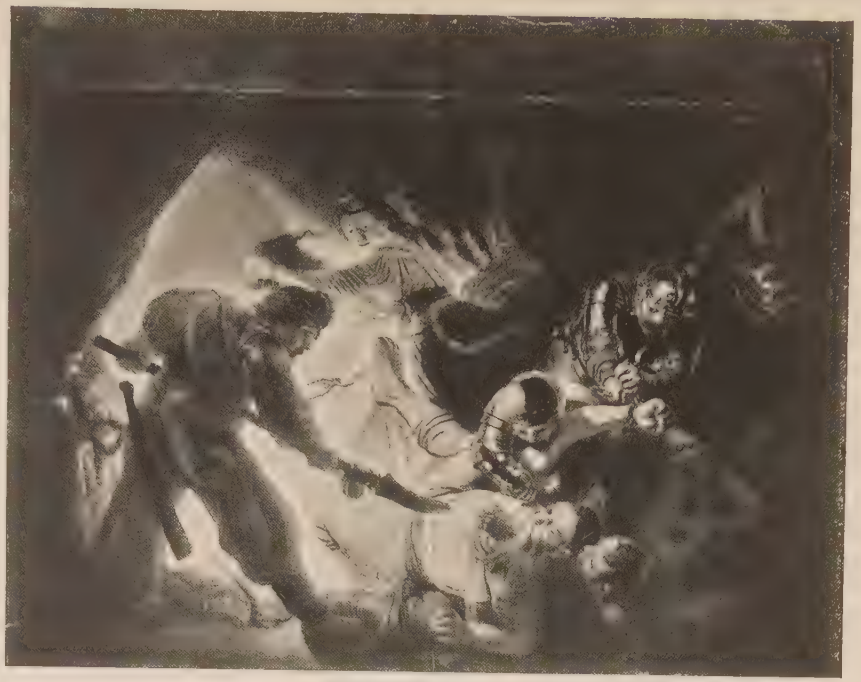
By nature the Hollander is peaceful and moderate, serious and thoughtful, as Rembrandt's work, taken as a whole, goes far to prove. But it would be an error to assume that he lacks passion. Fearing to compromise his dignity, he long maintains his reserve; but when passion overcomes him it suddenly breaks forth with an impetuosity that bursts every barrier. What an expression of unrestrained brutality often characterizes the peasant scenes of Dutch painters! Among Latin peoples suavity and grace may consist with an outbreak of passion, and to the light Flemish nature strong emotions are not so unfamiliar that they are apt to declare themselves abruptly. But in his more exceptional moods the Dutchman loses the self-control which at other times he maintains to an excessive degree, and becomes as naïve and ruthless as a child, as terrible as a madman.

Compared with one of the fallen angels of Rubens, a figure like Rembrandt's Samson is full of hard corners and edges. At certain points hands and feet are bent at right angles. Rubens would not have permitted such sharp lines as those of the soldier's halberd in the foreground and the corner of the curtain to cut across the composition, nor would he have created such abrupt diagonals as those of Samson's right foot and the lines that unite it with the head of the man who is lying under him. In this composition of only five figures the hard lines running counter to one another produce a more

vivid impression of a wild chaotic turmoil than the harmonized lines of other painters in compositions with ten times as many figures. When Rubens paints a dramatic scene the individual bends before the whirlwind that sways the group as a whole. But in this picture of Rembrandt's each personage obeys only the laws of his own being, and with incredible vigour enforces his will upon the course of the action. Every movement — the action of the self-confident soldier firmly grasping his halberd, of Samson clenching his fists, of the executioner who seizes the hero around the body, and of the one who fastens the fetters — is without a parallel as the expression of an intense and concentrated act of will.

Nevertheless there is a unifying element in the composition which offsets the disintegrating force of accentuated individuality. It is not, as with Rubens, the vigorously combined action of bodies all swaying in the same direction; it is a rhythm of contrasted movements controlling all the figures. Samson has been thrown sidewise to the ground toward the right while the helmeted soldier who is wounding him thrusts at him from the opposite side; the second soldier draws the fetters together toward the left again, and on this same side the third presses forward from the right-hand corner of the picture. These countermovements are most conspicuous in the two main figures, Samson and Delilah. The action of Delilah, pressing toward the other side of the frame and forming a contrast to the axis of the figure of the fallen hero, is brought back within the confines of the picture by the opposite movement of the *Landsknecht* whose arched

silhouette forms an admirable finish to the composition on this side. Although this rhythm prevails all through the picture it is most effective in the figures that can be separately considered, Delilah and the *Landsknecht.* And this seems natural when we remember that this particular kind of rhythm is merely a result of that tendency to individual characterization which succeeds best with detached figures. As in Rembrandt's compositions each figure reluctantly sacrifices its personality in the interest of the whole, his representations of crowds are often confused in effect, as is here the case in a small way with the group of soldiers around Samson. It needs a search to discover to which figures in this tangle the various limbs belong. It is possible, indeed, that the artist made his soldiers somewhat alike in type and in costume in order to give the group an inner coherence, and perhaps he needed a certain confusion to augment the horror of the scene. Yet it cannot be denied that the most impressive figures are the two that are detached, Delilah and the *Landsknecht,* whereas with Rubens the figures that are separated from the mass are often weak in effect because insufficiently individualized. How strongly characterized are Delilah and the *Landsknecht!* The man is a vagabond of the kind that excites no anger, for he is full of the poetry of gypsy life. He is at one with his picturesque costume as is the Cossack with his horse. It is a triumph of northern costume-painting that we cannot think of him apart from his dress. The bristly moustache and the cocked-up fur cap, the huge fists and the broad shoes, the wide trunk-hose, the bluntly curved point of the halberd, the clumsy curve of the scabbard, and



REMBRANDT, THE BLINDING OF SAMSON

STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT

the thick turned-up nose — all seem to have been cast in the same mould. Of course at bottom it is simply the artist's sense of style that gives the figure such completeness. But only a genius can thus infuse with his own spirit, his own style, a complicated as well as a simple subject. In Delilah we have an absolute contrast to the women of Rubens whose life, as some one has said, is wholly on the surface. She is the very embodiment of the passion that glows within her and flames from her eyes. Only a master who knew how to translate into colour and line the utmost refinements of emotional experience could have expressed in this countenance such mixed feelings as voluptuousness and cruelty, pride and the joy of victory.

Moreover, Rembrandt's art has succeeded in making us sympathize with the victor in this gruesome scene. In Delilah we recognize the triumph of a subtile intelligence over the gross folly of her lover. Yet we admire the way in which one man struggles with the superior strength of four and almost prevails against it. We look with astonishment at these fighters' fists, and believe in their power to carry off the gates of cities and to break the pillars of palaces in pieces. But as in all this tension of elemental force the mind, the soul, has no part, we sympathize more with the mercenaries, for, worthy representatives of the common sort, they are performing their task like men, in a careful and competent way. Riegl once called the Hollanders the painters of attentiveness. The *Landsknecht* is a striking example of this, a true Dutch type, a combination of conscientiousness, persistence, and unerring observation.

The Blinding of Samson breathes the spirit of the

time as well as the spirit of the race. It dates from that period of the artist's life when he was most strongly influenced by Baroque art, as may at once be seen in apparently unimportant details. The canvas is almost square, with rounded upper corners, a form that Rembrandt repeatedly chose — for example, for the Sophonisba at Madrid, the Preaching of John the Baptist at Berlin, and the Danae at St. Petersburg. It is a form characteristic of the Baroque period which, loving to break away from the simple proportions of the Renaissance, used the oval in place of the circle, and an oblong or only approximately square shape in place of the actual square. So also it rounded the corners of the upper part of a picture into shallow curves instead of preserving the semicircular shape preferred in Renaissance times. Probably the Blinding of Samson was originally fitted into a slightly curved Baroque frame.

All the decorations of the splendid scene are also Baroque in taste — the draperies, the fantastic costumes, the vessels in the style of Lutma on the table, and the various weapons which are specifically Baroque in their outlines. For instance, for the dagger used to blind the fallen Samson, Rembrandt chose not merely a Javanese creese but one with a wavy blade; and this dagger harmonizes with the short serpentine lines assumed by the contours in all parts of the composition, for wherever these seem to be elongated, as in the main diagonals, they are always curved, to be cut off flat at the ends or to form obtuse angles with lines that run counter to them.

Finally, the distribution of the light is Baroque, and

in a double sense. On one side it throws the figures into more than half-relief; elsewhere it reduces them almost to silhouettes. In both directions this exaggeration, if one dare call it so, was unknown to the Renaissance. To take an example from an allied art, we need only compare a Renaissance medal — one of Pisanello's, say — with a Dutch medal of the seventeenth century. The diversity in conception that marks the two periods shows at once in the difference in the character of the relief, the subject in the one case scarcely emerging from the field while in the other it is raised so high that the figures almost seem to be severed from the background. In a similar way the seventeenth-century painters, markedly subjective in temperament, usually show a tendency to let certain parts of a picture stand out in front of its first plane. It is not needful to dwell upon this in the case of painters like Rubens and Jordaens; but with Rembrandt too it often happens that hands are stretched out to us, horses spring forward from within the frame, and — the Night Watch is an instance — figures appear to be stepping forth from the canvas. About the year 1635 Rembrandt seems to have made studies with such ends in view. His portrait of himself with a helmet at Cassel supplies a sort of precedent for the two helmeted men who stand out from the Blinding of Samson in such strong relief; and later on we find in the Night Watch an analogous figure of a soldier whose head is boldly modelled out from the picture. This exaggerated kind of relief is counterbalanced by the attenuation of substantial things to shadowy outlines. These methods of treatment, fully developed in Rococo art, had their begin-

nings in Baroque art, and to no small degree in the art of Rembrandt. As a rule Rembrandt depicts the shadow that a figure casts upon the wall and fuses the figure with the shadow or shows it as a silhouette upon a luminous field, as in the early representation of the Supper at Emmaus in the André Museum at Paris. A similar although less conspicuous effect may be noted in the treatment of our *Landsknecht* where the characteristic contour, making the same demands as a silhouette, has been studied with exceptional care.

But everything in this picture that expresses the spirit of the time or the spirit of the race is comprised in its expression of personal experience. In this respect it is the chief monument of Rembrandt's formative period, which has been called his period of storm and stress, and which coincided with the first happy years of his married life with Saskia whose type of face may be recognized in Delilah's. It was then universally believed in Amsterdam that he was leading a riotous existence and squandering his possessions upon his young wife.

The picture voices a delight in richness, splendour, and profusion. It reminds us of some tale from the Arabian Nights. Samson is clad in silk with a brightly variegated girdle, Delilah is adorned with a filmy veil, bracelets of pearl, and golden chains, and the soldiers shine in burnished armour, richly chased weapons in their hands and feathers on their heads. At this time Rembrandt loved to give his personages full voluptuous forms, and eyes such as he gave them neither in earlier nor in later years, passionate eyes that turn a wide gaze upon the world and drink in all they see. Even in his

REMBRANDT, THE BLINDING OF SAMSON (DETAIL)

STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT

portraits he gave his sitters this look and surrounded them with the splendour of jewels and rich stuffs. The two portrait figures in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, painted in all their pomp in the same year as our picture, may well be compared with the heads of Delilah and the *Landsknecht*.

In the paintings of this period, including the Blinding of Samson, there is a threefold revelation of Rembrandt's mood. They reveal sensuality and cruelty and, lying back of both these traits, a wild and vague kind of excitement that drove the figures that grew beneath his hand into agitated tempestuous action. More than once pictures like the Danae at St. Petersburg and the idealized portrait of Saskia as Flora, owned by the Duke of Buccleugh, have been grouped together as betraying sensuality; and beside them may be set the indecent sketches that give rein to the broad humour of a northern barbarian and even inject it into Biblical scenes such as the Preaching of John the Baptist at Berlin. As sensuality and cruelty are blood relations, it is not by chance that we find compositions of this period that seem to reveal an utter lack of feeling which Rembrandt less than any one else might be expected to show. In the year 1635 he etched the Stoning of Stephen where one of the executioners poises a huge stone that threatens to crush the feeble and slender body of the saint. And in the same category belong a number of representations of the Passion and certain other drawings — for example, the Beheading of Holofernes where the trunk of the dead man immediately confronts the spectator.

Examples of the expression of strong excitement

need hardly be cited. Closely akin in spirit to the Blinding of Samson is the Abraham's Sacrifice of the same year, particularly the second version of it which is now at Munich. In the study for this, preserved in the British Museum, the fluttering garments and contorted limbs look as though they were caught in a whirlwind. Another drawing, equally tumultuous, the Christ Bearing the Cross in the Berlin Print Room, vividly recalls our picture in its arrangement. The Virgin, who is sinking back, and the woman behind the cross, who is hurrying forward, may be compared in their contrasted movements to the figures of Samson and Delilah. In other cases where the conception speaks less plainly of the passionate mood that possessed Rembrandt at this time the technique shows it clearly enough. In the drawings of these years the pen bites deep into the paper, and restless confused flourishes accompany the vigorous main lines.

This picture of the Blinding of Samson, which gives the key to an understanding of all the forces that swayed the artist during his period of storm and stress, forces that elsewhere reveal themselves singly, will not appeal to every one. It will not please the feminine spirit which can seldom accept brutality even when it assumes an artistic form. It will not content the decadent sentimentalist who would rather see the *Landsknecht* playing with his dagger in front of Samson's eyes, as Salome disports herself before the head of John the Baptist in Quentin Metsys' picture at Antwerp, or who may crave a more definite portrayal of sensuality than is attempted here, where the charm is broken and the conflict ended. Nor will it satisfy those among

REMBRANDT, CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS

PRINT ROOM, BERLIN

the painter's admirers who care only for the Rembrandt of those latter years when he was sinking into depths of meditation. But how is it possible to understand the final results of the life of such an artist unless we accompany him along the path that led to them?

Certainly there speak from his later works an unfathomable experience, an astonishing faculty of spiritual perception, and a dominating sense of melancholy calm that were not foretold in the works of earlier years. But on the other hand his old age lacked what the stormy transition period between youth and manhood had possessed — exultant joy, burning passion, and confidence in his own boundless powers and in a great future. It is by reason of these qualities that Rembrandt's earlier works instantly take us captive. But we cannot have all of his characteristics in the same work of art; there is not room in the soul for storm and peacefulness to dwell together. And while it may be that his later works should be more highly prized than the earlier ones, while it may be that the development of a great master always means progress, nevertheless this much is certain: in many of the pictures that Rembrandt painted between 1630 and 1640 he reached the very highest level. An incessant change of problems is more conspicuous in his career than a growth in ability; and criticism should not try to measure these steps if it is thereby tempted to depreciate what is great in favour of something that may be even greater.

IX

REMBRANDT'S REPRESENTATIONS OF SUSANNA

WE have long been accustomed to the unfavourable criticisms passed by mediocre painters upon the works of other artists. Great painters are milder in their judgments. They may, indeed, be gruff and evasive when they are in the creative mood, preoccupied with themselves, or when they are forced to put their views into words. Then, awkward perhaps or scornful, they may over-emphasize an opinion. But this is not their way in the pregnant moments when they are gathering impressions for future use. Then they are content with the humblest material that presents itself. It almost seems as though they lingered longest in front of the most commonplace examples of their art. Perhaps the only way they can learn of others is by using what they gather to express themselves, and are therefore best pleased when not confronted by a very lofty personality.

At times Rembrandt studied insignificant painters like Marten van Heemskerk, a mannerist — not even a refined but merely a clumsy mannerist — who has

P. LASTMAN, SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

REMBRANDT (AFTER LASTMAN), SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
PRINT ROOM, BERLIN

hardly any importance to-day except from the historical point of view. Rembrandt's teacher, Pieter Lastman, also seems to us to have little individuality, permanent though the impression was that he made on the great painter.

It has been pointed out that a well-known large red-chalk drawing of Rembrandt's, in the possession of Léon Bonnat at Paris, reproduces a picture of Pieter Lastman's, now in private ownership in Russia, which was famous in his time. A comparison of the large drawing of Susanna in the Berlin Print Room with a picture of Lastman's in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum shows a similar relationship, being, again, an almost exact copy. So when we remember that in the Friedrich August Collection at Dresden there is a third drawing in red chalk of about the same size, after Leonardo's Last Supper, it seems possible that all these pages formed part of a sketchbook containing copies by Rembrandt of the works of other masters.

It is not a thing to grieve about when scientific criticism traces back to another artist some theme which has been thought of Rembrandt's own invention. We admire him all the more when we see what he created with the aid of the work that lay before him. Put Lastman's and Rembrandt's paintings of Susanna side by side and the distance between them seems immeasurable. Psychological intention, material embodiment, technique, even the fashioning of the figures as regards external beauty — there is nothing in which Rembrandt does not far surpass his predecessor. His delicate charming creature with her shy gestures is like thistledown compared to Lastman's broad and heavy

figure sitting in a bundle of clothes on a misshapen stone sphynx. As light as the ripples that lave her feet she slips into the water, the supple body obeying an agile spirit, while with Lastman's Susanna the form responds to the spirit with an evident indolence. Rembrandt's Susanna is in strong illumination as the centre of the scheme of lighting; everything around her, including the two elders, sinks into shadow. With Lastman the graybeard is too prominent. He stands like an Italian draped statue but blank and meaningless, for neither in the structure of his body nor in the folds of his garment is there a trace of beauty. His face is almost concealed, and so is that of the other elder in which we might expect to find a reflection of the action. The gestures of both are importunate but not at all expressive; one trembles with excitement — to the spectator he seems almost comical — while the second, likewise draped in the Italian manner, makes pathetic signs behind Susanna's back although she cannot see him. Rembrandt's elders, on the other hand, are full of a glowing sensuality that speaks from the hasty steps with which they come forward, and from their loose and bulging garments. How repulsive are their faces distorted by desire, how ardent are their glances, almost overpassing the goal in their excitement, how vulgarly one of them laughs with pinched nostrils while the other protrudes his lips and by the fist that he holds up to his mouth betrays the import of his whispers!

The great advance in plastic feeling that marked the thirty years between Lastman's painting and Rembrandt's shows also in the different way of indicating depth in the picture. Rembrandt's foliage, instead of

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forming a flat dark wall as it does in the earlier work, arches into broad masses defined by streams of light. In place of the rectangular palace with its lean silhouette a heavily massed circular building soars high above the splendid terraces that encircle it. And here the three figures clearly mark three successive degrees of distance, while with Lastman two are in the same plane and the third is too much in shadow to help much in the indication of depth.

It is true that Lastman's picture bears witness to well-trained powers and an upright sturdy spirit, but they are shallow powers, a shallow spirit, as compared with the sagacity, the brilliancy, the profound intelligence of Rembrandt. Thus all of Lastman's pictures dwindle to insignificance if contrasted even with the awkward juvenile essays of his great pupil. They may serve us as milestones with which to measure the long road that from this point of departure Rembrandt traversed.

As regards his portrayals of Susanna, the first step is marked by the red-chalk drawing at Berlin. In spite of the rapidity with which it must have been done, it betters the original at more than one point. In particular the bearing of the hesitating elder has grown more dignified; he is hoping to make an impression by a convincing display of self-restraint. Susanna's glance is now almost devoid of fear and is much more intense and repellent. The second elder is more prominent, the mantle has fallen from his face, and he seems to be grasping Susanna by the hair. Were the sketch carried farther the expression of his face, important as explanatory of the action, would be

more clearly marked than it is with Lastman. A change in a subordinate feature of the composition also shows the desire to give the action more point: with Lastman both the peacocks sit quietly on the branches; with Rembrandt one of them flutters up as the old man comes too near him.

A pen-drawing of about the year 1635, which is also in the Berlin Print Room, where almost all of Rembrandt's studies of Susanna chance to be gathered together, marks a second step away from Lastman. In the action as well as in the penstrokes it reveals the vehement agitation of this period of the artist's life. Susanna is crouching in terror and shielding breast and body with her hands, for the elders are close upon her. Intending to seize her, one of them has set his foot on her stone seat but draws back as she impetuously turns her head. The other is pointing excitedly over her head into the distance — a gesture which is not clearly connected with the action but is intended, perhaps, merely to enhance the effect of Susanna's hasty movement. She is, indeed, still seated with her feet together as in Lastman's picture, but in the elasticity of her body we read the impulse to rise.

The same idea is expressed more fully in the picture in the Mauritshuis at the Hague, painted most probably in 1637. Susanna is advancing her feet for flight as she thrusts them into her slippers, and at the same time is trying to screen her body. The rendering of the movement that indicates this double intention proclaims the power of Rembrandt's art, for it bears witness to the great freedom of spirit that he bestowed

REMBRANDT, SUSANNA

MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE

upon his figures. Such differentiations would have been impossible to Lastman. Characteristic of Rembrandt again is a detail which, hindering the action, emphasizes the emotional disturbance — the failure of one of the feet to find its way into the slipper.*

In the presence of the original of this picture it may often have been remarked that the treatment of the foliage to the right of Susanna with its cabbage-like forms, and of the garments with their crisped and wavy folds, conspicuously recalls Lastman's work. This resemblance, exceptional at this period of Rembrandt's career, is explained by our knowledge of the fact that he had recently been studying one of his master's most important canvases.

All the rest of Rembrandt's representations of Susanna at the Bath, with the exception of one drawing of later date, group themselves around the Berlin picture. They include two studies in oil with the single figure of Susanna, one of which is in the Louvre and the other in Bonnat's possession, and two drawings — a crayon-drawing at Berlin,† likewise portraying Susanna, and a detailed composition in pen-and-ink at

*In a similar way the St. Jerome in Ecstasy in an early work, which we know only in the print by Vlietsch, is losing one slipper, and so, in the picture at St. Petersburg, is the Prodigal Son as he begs his father for forgiveness. The creators of the modern psychological novel are not the first to observe that at critical moments in the life of the soul the attention may be focussed upon unworthy trifles.

†In my opinion Hofstede de Groot in his catalogue of Rembrandt's drawings, and Bode in the third volume of his book on Rembrandt, date these drawings ten years too early (about 1635-37). The turn of the head and the position of the back correspond with the picture at Berlin, and the model wears the same cap as in the studies in oil at Paris. About the year 1645 Rembrandt commonly used this black crayon for his drawings, as in the sketches for the young girl at Dulwich College and for the old woman at St. Petersburg, in studies of beggars, and in landscape sketches.

Amsterdam.* As Herr Hofstede de Groot kindly informs me, there are furthermore two studies, unknown to me, for one of the Jews in the Berlin picture — a sketch in oils owned by Léon Nardus of Suresnes near Paris and a drawing in the Heseltine Collection at London.

In painting the Berlin picture Rembrandt probably had the earlier one, the one now at the Hague, under his eyes, for it is hardly conceivable that otherwise he could have reproduced the pose so exactly, especially as regards the lower part of the body. But the type of face has changed. Instead of the elongated type recalling Saskia we have now the rounder, more childlike girl's face that begins to appear in Rembrandt's work somewhere about the year 1647 — the type of Hendrickje.† The whole conception has become tenderer and more charming as appears if we compare, for example, the Berlin sketch for the picture at the Hague with the very delightful childlike composition at Amsterdam which, dating from about 1645, is, on the other hand, a study for the Berlin picture. Instead of a bold outbreak of gross passion we have an eager but almost harmless pursuit, a game between two comically eloquent old men and a child whose hair, loosened in her fright, falls in thin strands as though it were wet.

In both of the pictures, because of the slower

*The very elaborate drawing at Budapest (reproduced in the *Publikation der Albertinazeichnungen* and recently in Graul, *Fünfzig Handzeichnungen Rembrandt's*, Leipzig, 1906) is certainly not an original, but is probably a pupil's copy from the picture, and was therefore quite rightly rejected by Hofstede de Groot.

†I still adhere to the belief I have already expressed that by this time Hendrickje was living with Rembrandt and influencing the type of his female figures. Compare also in this connection Charles Sedelmeyer's essay of 1912 on the Woman Taken in Adultery of the Weber Collection.

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KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

process of painting in oil, the conception has grown quieter and psychologically more complicated. At the same time it has grown less naïve, for the fact that Susanna is looking out from the picture indicates a thought of the spectator. By this means Rembrandt avoided that over-abrupt turning of Susanna's head toward the elders which had not been successful with Lastman and which has a touch of exaggeration in his own first drawing. Perhaps, too, Rembrandt was no longer pleased with the rather heavy line of the back and shoulders in the earlier picture, for he begins to work at it in the studies for the picture at Berlin. In the crayon-drawing and in both the Paris studies in oil he pays particular attention to the articulation of the arm at the shoulder, to the back, and to the muscles of the neck at the turn of the head; the study in the Louvre is especially careful in regard to the left foot and the arrangement of the drapery which forms along the back a fold ready for the elder's grasp; and the sketch owned by Bonnat is concerned with the facial expression. As a result, the line of Susanna's back is more vital in the later than in the earlier painting and wins an added grace from the concave curves at the neck and the hip. The last trace of materiality that clung to the figure has disappeared.

Once again, about ten years later, Rembrandt returned in a passing way to the same subject, in a pen-drawing now at Berlin. As is usual in the works of his old age, he no longer seeks for new subjects. He is content to simplify or, if you will, to repeat in a blunter fashion what he had thought out at an earlier time. In the grouping of the figures and the attitude

of each of them there is a close likeness to the Berlin picture, but the subtile interpretation of the essence of the theme has been foregone and the mystical glamour has vanished. There is now no pleasant hollow among verdant branches, no soft murmur of foliage, no radiance of scattered light. Broad clusters of leafage converge from the two sides, forbidding to the eye any glimpse into the distance. The expression of sensuality is more pronounced. The figures stand closer together and nearer to the spectator; they are larger in proportion to the space and their attitudes are less complex, being reduced to a couple of strongly angular movements. Accessories are renounced, the composition that encloses the figures on the right hand and the left is of narrower shape, and the contrast between the nude female figure and the architecture that enframes the group in a broad symmetrical fashion is more strongly marked. Nor does Susanna now slip away, light-footed, from her pursuers. She is standing up to her knees in the water; escape is impossible.

We can hardly help wondering at the consistent way in which, during so long a period, Rembrandt's imagination worked upon this series of representations of Susanna. Between one and another of them there lay hundreds of sketches and completed works inspired by different themes and ideas, and only in a single instance can we perhaps plausibly assume that the artist had an earlier version of his subject actually under his eyes. We wonder whether at other times he may have remembered with distinctness one of the sketches done several years before. But it seems more probable that his nature remained from first to last essentially so

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unchanged that the same subject always suggested to his imagination a picture of fundamentally the same kind. In truth, Rembrandt's whole development, which seems to us so rich, was simply a development in the outward shaping of ideas which had possessed him from the very beginning.

X

PICTURES BY RUBENS IN AMERICA

RUBENS is less well represented in American collections than the other great masters of the seventeenth century — than Rembrandt, Frans Hals, or Vermeer, than Velasquez or van Dyck. I have seen about forty of his pictures, some twenty of them sketches and most of them unpublished, but this is a very small number compared with those preserved in Europe where there must be almost a thousand. America has now about one eighth of the pictures of Rembrandt (about eighty in a total of six hundred and sixty) and of Velasquez (about twelve in one hundred); it has one sixth of those by Frans Hals (about fifty in three hundred) and almost one fourth of Vermeer's (about eight in thirty-seven); and if it has relatively fewer of van Dyck's (about forty in a total of eight hundred), the level of excellence is all the higher, especially in the pictures of his Genoese period.

While the great private collections of America long since admitted van Dyck, they open their doors more hesitatingly to his great master. In the Altman, Frick, and Huntington Collections in New York Rubens is

not represented at all. Mrs. Gardner of Boston has only one portrait, Mr. Widener of Philadelphia only a single sketch. The laudable exception is Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia who has a special liking for Rubens' studies and owns almost one fourth of the works from his hand that have thus far crossed the ocean. As in general the great collectors still show so little interest in Rubens, small examples are more numerous than large and finished pictures intended for a church or a palace. But this is not a matter for regret to any one who wishes to speak of them, for by common consent Rubens' sketches reveal the very essence of his genius.

To express these new-born ideas, which are conceived in the joyous mood of a discoverer and do not seem to ask for a more explicit rendering, Rubens used canvas and brush, whereas Rembrandt, whose work tends more toward monochrome, generally sketched his compositions with a pen on paper. Such drawings in crayon and in pen-and-ink as Rubens did produce are almost all careful preparatory studies for certain parts of his large paintings. Therefore his sketches in oil hold the same place in his work that is held in Rembrandt's by the compositions that we find among his drawings. And the same difficulties attend a study of the one group and the other. We might suppose that it would be particularly hard to imitate great artists in their hasty sketches, but Rubens' sketches in oil, like Rembrandt's drawings, were so cleverly copied by his pupils that their transcripts, unless betrayed by a direct comparison with the originals, might usually be mistaken for them. Three or four instances of this similarity occur in the series representing the story of

Achilles, of which I shall speak again on a later page; the first studies, small in size, recur two or three times, and there is also a series of rather larger ones which are likewise so broadly and sketchily handled that if the originals were unknown we should hardly think of them as done in part by pupils.

In considering the works by Rubens in American collections we may group together the pictures of the first half of his career, from about 1603 to 1620. The most important of the finished compositions of this period are the double portrait owned by Mrs. Robert D. Evans of Boston and the Wolf and Fox Hunt in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, but a few sketches and large pictures are of earlier date than these.

The Marriage of St. Catherine in the collection of Mr. Rodman Wanamaker of Philadelphia, known through the reproduction in Rosenberg's *Klassiker der Kunst*, is thought to be the earliest Rubens in America. Waagen was the first to point out that this rather timid piece of work must date from the end of Rubens' Italian period, from about the year 1604. Dr. Glück attributes it, probably with justice, to one of Rubens' pupils, Jan Boeckhorst. I have not as yet had access to the picture.

A Crucifixion owned by Mr. Johnson brings us to the time of that great unfolding of the artist's powers in official ecclesiastical paintings which brought him world-wide fame, the time of the Raising of the Cross and the Descent from the Cross in the cathedral at Antwerp. Mr. Johnson's picture, painted about 1610 and perhaps not entirely by Rubens' own hand, is a variant of the oft-recurring composition with a simpler

RUBENS, ROMULUS AND REMUS

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

and more sympathetically studied landscape. Although the dramatic success of such scenes merits the highest admiration, their passionate appeal to the spectator is so undisguised that they can hardly stir his deepest emotions.

In a sketch in the same collection, showing Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, and probably painted about 1612, the pagan priests are trying to prevent the followers of Christ from denouncing their idolatrous rites. The varied play of gesture in this row of similar figures and the great diversity of their attitudes, arranged though they are with their heads at the same level, remind one of the Woman Taken in Adultery, at Brussels, and the Diogenes, at Frankfort. Characteristic of the style of this period are the tight contours of the heads, the heavy elongated folds of the draperies, and certain masculine types such as the high priest and the bearded old man with bent head in the centre of the composition. The sketch, which has been somewhat repainted, is done chiefly in brown slightly tinged with green and yellow in the illumined parts.

To realize Rubens' marvellous versatility we may compare these studies with one, a little later in date, of the Childhood of Romulus and Remus, also in Mr. Johnson's collection. Here there is nothing of the conventional ecclesiasticism of the Crucifixions and nothing of the impassioned yet monumental action of the scene at Lystra. The buoyant spirit of the artist has turned a cold allegorical theme, the glorification of the founding of Rome, into a delightful genre-picture with a landscape setting. Roma, the young mother, is trying in vain to keep both her sturdy struggling

boys on her lap; one of them is clambering up to his father, Mars arrayed for battle, who has plucked a fruit from the tree for him, while the other leans back toward the wolf that gently submits to be stroked. A shepherd, a satyr, and Father Tiber, lying at his ease among the reeds, take pleasure in the charming scene. It is a masterpiece, this study, in the art of grouping. Each figure is in natural and animated relations with the others, and the artist's inexhaustible dramatic power, which can never let his figures come to rest, has given them here a delightful eloquence. The joyous mood of the sunny landscape is reflected in the spring-like colours of the costumes, a tender blue and a pale rose-colour standing out against the thinly brushed-in brown of the background. Only one picture by Rubens of Romulus and Remus has hitherto been known, the familiar one, dating from about 1607, in the Capitol at Rome. The present study may be identical with the sketch mentioned in the inventory of the Lunden family, who were kinsmen of Rubens, and perhaps also with the work that in 1781 Sir Joshua Reynolds saw in the house of Danoot, a banker at Brussels.

An authentic work, probably of the year 1615, is the Bestowal of the Keys, formerly owned by Mr. W. R. Bacon and more recently by Blakeslee the art dealer in New York — a picture that was shown to the European public at the Brussels Exhibition a few years ago. In the solid effect of the red and yellow hues and in the heavy handling it resembles the Doubting Thomas at Antwerp and the Penitent Sinners in the Presence of Christ at Munich, which are similar in composition and were painted at the same time.

RUBENS, PORTRAIT OF A MAN AND HIS WIFE

COLLECTION OF MRS. R. D. EVANS, BOSTON

To this time must also belong the striking double portrait owned by Mrs. Robert D. Evans of Boston. Here the difficult problem of uniting two persons in one picture is solved by the use of a diagonal arrangement, frequently employed by Rubens and also by Rembrandt, which comports with the preference for asymmetry that characterized the Baroque period. The woman is seated, the man is standing behind her, and the two figures are bound together by the light that, falling on both the heads, is carried in a slanting direction to the woman's bodice and hands. Combining in a rare degree the careful rendering of details and a personal succinct manner of presentation, Rubens has portrayed the inmost nature of the two simple burghers — the man with the frank, naïvely sensuous temperament, and the blooming young woman with the roguish smile and the enticing upward glance which van Dyck, adding a touch of theatrical subtilty, so often gave his sitters. The straightforward realism of the picture and the smoothness of the handling recall the best works of Cornelis de Vos, while in breadth of style and in the vitality of the figures it reminds us of Jordaens, although both these painters lacked the keenness of perception and the highly intellectual power of characterization revealed by the expressive heads. Even though a portrait was in question Jordaens, to whom this one has sometimes been attributed, would have been more attracted by the externals than by the spirit of his theme, as is proved by his masterpiece in portraiture, his own likeness in the Uffizi. Here we have the same type, but in comparison with the head in Rubens' picture the features lack nobility,

the mouth is coarser, the eyes are duller. Comparing, again, the woman's head with the one in the Family of Jordaens at Madrid, I am tempted to believe that the double portrait represents Jordaens and his wife. If so, it must have been painted in 1616, the year when Jordaens married Catherine Noort, and is a beautiful memorial of the friendship between the two comrades in the studio of Adam Noort, Rubens' teacher and Jordaens' father-in-law.

The large Wolf and Fox Hunt in the Metropolitan Museum takes us from the artist's intimate surroundings to that phase of his activity in which he met the requirements of foreign aristocrats.

While his great devotional altar-pieces established his fame in the high ecclesiastical circles of Flanders, the large hunting scenes produced between 1612 and 1616 seem to have carried it into the aristocratic circles of foreign lands, and especially of England. As is well known, the Wolf Hunt of the New York Museum, which has been published several times in recent years, came from Lord Ashburton's collection and is considered a replica of a still larger canvas that the Duke of Aerschot obtained from Rubens and that is thought to be lost. A letter, published by Rooses,* from the agent Toby Mathew to Sir Dudley Carleton, who was for a time ambassador of England at the Hague, tells us more about this larger picture. Carleton had caused an offer for the first version of the Wolf Hunt to be submitted to Rubens who refused it as too low. The Duke of Aerschot had then got ahead of the Englishman and had paid the artist's price, about

**L'œuvre de P. P. Rubens.* Vol. II, p. 93.

RUBENS, WOLF AND FOX HUNT

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

£100. Thereupon Mathew urged Sir Dudley not to be dissatisfied, proposing that he should secure a somewhat smaller replica which could be had for the sum he was willing to pay. Rubens, he said, had seen that the first picture was too large, that it could be hung only in the apartments of a great palace, and, because of his liking for the subject, had painted another which measured only 7 by 10 feet whereas the first measured between 11 and 12 by 18 feet. Apparently, Sir Dudley Carleton obtained this second canvas which Rooses has identified with the one in the possession of Lord Methuen. It does not seem very probable that in addition to these two pictures Rubens painted a third, of about the same size as the first, and that all knowledge of it has been lost. It is easier to suppose that the New York picture is the one acquired by the Duke of Aerschot. The difference in dimensions evidently prevented Rooses from so deciding. But if we compare the New York picture with Soutman's engraving we see that it has been considerably cut down on all sides, and especially at top and bottom; and if we add the missing strips we have a canvas of about 10 by $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which is not very far from the dimensions given by Toby Mathew. Moreover, technically considered, the New York picture is all of a piece, and this confirms the supposition that it was the first, for the original rendering of the subject would be much less likely than the third to show collaboration in any marked degree. Such a threefold division of the work as has sometimes been assumed, giving the animals to Snyders, the landscape to Wilders, and the rest to Rubens, is hardly credible. It is unlikely that Rubens asked

Wilders' aid for the little stretch of landscape, very freely painted, that he himself could have brushed-in in a few minutes. And neither in action nor in technique do the animals suggest Snyders; on the contrary, they show how greatly, even in this direction, Rubens excelled him.

If we must assume the collaboration of pupils, the most plausible supposition is that, after Rubens had reproduced his sketch at full size, he left the general execution to his assistants but finally went over the whole thing with his own hand. This would explain why the general effect of the picture is rather hard and why, nevertheless, we can everywhere trace the brushstrokes of the master himself. Naturally, the final retouching by Rubens precludes any attempt to separate the work of different hands. In style the picture is very like the Wild Boar Hunt at Marseilles, also engraved by Soutman, in which we find again the type of the horn-blower and of the lady on horseback.

It seems as though Rubens had determined to portray all the different ways of hunting wild beasts that were practised in Europe or, according to hearsay, in the Orient. Besides the wild bear and the wolf hunts there are well-known lion and bear hunts, stag hunts, crocodile and hippopotamus hunts. And to these may be added a hitherto unknown sketch of a steer hunt, owned by Ehrich, the New York art dealer, which is probably a reproduction of the smaller study that was sold at the Sedelmeyer auction in 1907.

This sketch is composed like a frieze within a long and narrow frame, a shape for which Rubens often showed a preference in the latter part of his life. Probably it

dates from about 1635, but in view of its subject it may best be considered in connection with the other hunting pieces. Such scenes of combat as these that Rubens created, scenes so absolutely convincing in their dramatic power, have no parallel in the history of European art. In this steer hunt the movement of the animals, rushing headlong at their topmost speed, is rendered with the same keenness of observation that we find in oriental art, and, moreover, the action, which in oriental art is almost always in one direction, or is sustained by symmetrically advancing groups, here brings into equilibrium two counter-movements of equal force, the participants coming from opposite directions and crashing together in the centre in a wild medley where the eye can but slowly discover the organic relationships of the component parts. The dramatic content corresponds exactly to this external arrangement. It is an ever-renewed surprise to find that the fury which produced such a turmoil was not miscalculated. The dramatic crisis in a hunting scene is usually the moment when the bold hunters are in greatest danger from the wounded beast yet their victory is nevertheless foreseen. In the present picture the steer has attacked in his blind rage the horse of one of the hunters who, pale of face and scarcely able to hold his lance, is falling from the saddle; but the fatal stroke has already been planted between the horns of the bull, and the superior strength of the assailants who, on foot and on horseback and helped by their dogs, press in with lance and sword, leaves the outcome in no doubt.

Furthermore, we have a study of the Adoration of the Kings, in the collection of Sir William Van

Horne at Montreal, and two studies of the heads of the oldest two of the Kings, owned by Mrs. Charles H. Senff of New York, which were all painted at the end of the second decade of the century. The studies of heads were last seen in Europe in 1881, in the Wilson Collection,* which contained also the third King of the same series, a study that was lent to the Brussels Exhibition by Heer van Gelder of Uccle. These three pictures prove that, although the current belief that finished reproductions of parts of Rubens' well-known compositions are not his own work is usually correct, sometimes it is mistaken. In the year 1618, as Rooses discovered, Rubens made separate replicas of the heads of the Three Kings in his great altar-piece at Mechlin for the three sons of Balthasar Moretus, in whose family the eldest three sons were always named for the Three Kings. The identity of the New York pictures and the one at Uccle with these replicas is established beyond a doubt by the vigour of the handling and the freedom with which details of the Mechlin altar-piece are altered.

On the other hand, Sir William Van Horne's sketch of the Adoration of the Kings, likewise autographic, is a preparatory study for a large altar-piece. In general it corresponds with the main group in the picture of the same name at Munich, painted in 1619 for the Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg. The divergencies prove that it is not a copy but an initial version, and in vitality of effect it surpasses the altar-piece which was executed for the most part by pupils.

Rubens once wrote: "I realize that I am by nature

*M. Rooses, *L'œuvre de P. P. Rubens.* Vol. I, p. 172.

RUBENS, A FEAST OF THE GODS

COLLECTION OF MRS. UNTERMYER, YONKERS, NEW YORK

more inclined to produce very large works than little curiosities." He must have known in which direction his ability was greatest. Yet he sometimes ventured with singular success into regions outside of his true field, as when he collaborated with Pieter Breughel the Elder, a painter whose concern was precisely with "little curiosities." It seems as though an external impulse may sometimes stimulate the powers of great artists. For example, neither Frans Hals nor van Dyck often created anything more perfect than the little portraits that they prepared for the engraver's use on a scale to which they were unaccustomed. So, too, the art of Rubens seems to be brought to a focus in the small pictures he painted with Breughel, one of the most beautiful of which is in America, the Feast of the Gods in the collection of Mrs. Samuel Untermyer at Yonkers near New York.

We are not very well pleased to-day by the idea of a collaboration between artists as dissimilar as Rubens and Breughel. We have a keener desire than prevailed in their time to understand the personality of a painter, and, easily finding the line between the handiwork of these two, we are tempted to draw comparisons. The result is unfavourable to Breughel who holds about the same place in relation to Rubens as does Gerard Dou in relation to Rembrandt. In dwelling upon details he loses the thread of the narrative and, notwithstanding all his care, produces only cold and unnatural compositions, while Rubens seems to mock at this confused kind of miniature-painting with the glimmering joyous beauty of nude bodies that stand out, plastically rounded, in the light of a southern sun.

In his designs for tapestries Rubens adopted perforce the same careful manner of treatment within a small space, for he was obliged to facilitate to the utmost the task of the pupils to whom the enlargement of the sketches was entrusted. During the last twenty years of his life he prepared designs for three sets of tapestries: in 1621 or 1622 for a History of Constantine, between 1626 and 1628 for a Triumph of Dogma, and between 1630 and 1635 for a History of Achilles. Several sketches with scenes from these series are owned in America, and they afford a good chance to learn how complicated is the task of distinguishing Rubens' own handiwork from studio copies.

Perhaps the most beautiful of these sketches is the one, belonging to the first series, that is reproduced in Rosenberg's *Klassiker der Kunst* (p. 231) and is now owned by Mr. Johnson. The Emblem of Christ Appearing to the Emperor Constantine is depicted in light and brilliant colours with a sensitive feeling for the sparkling airy vitality of the sunbeams, and this burst of light from heaven floods the groups of warriors that crowd around the young emperor, attracting as though in a magnetic stream the glances of the rhythmically moving figures.

The second and longest sequence of tapestries, which presents a complicated allegory in fifteen pictures, consists, as Rooses explains, of three parts, showing the triumph of the eucharist over its enemies, the incidents in Old Testament history that are prophetic of the eucharist, and the portraits of the evangelists, the fathers of the church, the sovereigns, and the popes who were defenders of the eucharist. To the second part belong

the two sketches now in America — the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek in the Johnson Collection and a sacrificial scene from the Old Testament that has been offered for sale in New York. There are several versions of almost all the sketches of this series. Mr. Johnson's, which is probably identical with the one cited by Rooses as in the possession of Mr. Spencer F. A. Smith at Clifton Hill in England, may be found again in the Prado and also in Lord Northbrook's collection, and the other corresponds with a design owned by Lord Spencer who also owns the original design for the border of the tapestry. Both the sketches now in America are freely and surely handled, much in the great painter's own manner. If no duplicates were known, the idea that they may be studio copies would never suggest itself.

Still more complicated is the question of the authenticity of the designs for the third set of tapestries, dealing with the story of Achilles. The six pictures owned by Lord Barrymore in London, and exhibited at the Grafton Galleries a few years ago, are considered by almost every one the original sketches. They include: (1) Thetis Dipping Achilles in the Styx; (2) Chiron Training the Young Achilles; (3) Thetis Causing Vulcan to Forge the Weapons; (4) Achilles and Agamemnon Contending for Briseis; (5) The Death of Hector; (6) The Death of Achilles. But as one of the sets of tapestries that were made from these designs was among Rubens' effects at the time of his death, and as it consisted of ten pieces, it seems as though four of the original sketches must be missing from Lord Barrymore's series. On the other hand, the engravings made by

Ertringer in 1679 show only eight designs, the two that are lacking in Lord Barrymore's series being: (7) Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes, and (8) The Return of Briseis to Achilles. It has therefore been supposed that the set consisted of only eight pictures, and that two of the ten in Rubens' possession were duplicates. But this can hardly be correct. More likely a ninth design is preserved in a tapestry which is now owned by Mr. George Robert White in Boston and which, as it portrays Thetis Consulting the Oracle in Regard to the Young Achilles, may well be the first of the series. Consequently we may believe that there was originally a tenth picture which has since disappeared.

Two sketches with the missing scenes 7 and 8 are in American collections — the one with Briseis owned by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff in New York, the one with Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes in the Wilstach Collection in the Fairmount Park Museum at Philadelphia; but their size and their technical characteristics prove that they do not belong with Lord Barrymore's. Rooses notes that in 1643 designs for the Achilles sequence were in the possession of Daniel Fourment, Rubens' father-in-law. Beyond a doubt these were the originals. They were painted on wood, as are Lord Barrymore's sketches. But Mr. Schiff's Briseis sketch is on canvas (not transferred from wood) and is larger by a few centimetres than the corresponding sketches in England. It belongs, as does the sketch of the Death of Achilles in the Berlin Museum, to a second series of studies which, although hardly inferior in quality to the first, can only be a studio replica. On

RUBENS, THE ENTRANCE OF HENRI IV INTO PARIS

COLLECTION OF MRS. J. W. SIMPSON, NEW YORK

the other hand, the little picture of Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes in the Philadelphia Museum is painted on wood and looks authentic but lacks the border that completes the sketches in England. And it is not very probable that sketches of this kind, without the border, are originals, for it appears that Rubens always designed the borders with the pictures. In fact, his patterns for tapestries excel in just this respect those of other painters, the borders for which were often separately treated or were even borrowed from other sets of tapestries.

From Rubens' sketches his pupils — according to Rooses, Theodor van Tulden in particular — executed larger pictures, measuring about 107 by 108 centimetres, which were sent as patterns to the tapestry works and there, most probably, transferred to large cartoons.* As Rubens himself retouched these pictures, they are so admirably effective in execution that only close study reveals the handiwork of pupils. Until a few years ago

* I may note in passing a few more studio replicas of sketches by Rubens that are owned in America. In the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston there is a study for the great altar-piece of 1628 in the Church of the Augustins at Antwerp, but it is inferior in quality to the autographic sketches at Frankfort and Berlin. That a little picture of St. Theresa Interceding with Christ, owned by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, was painted *from* the altar-piece and is not a study *for* it has already been pointed out by Rooses who saw the picture in the collection of the king of Belgium. Of small importance is also the little picture of the Repentant Magdalene now in the collection of Senator William A. Clark in New York and formerly owned by an art dealer in Vienna. It is reproduced in Rosenberg's *Klassiker der Kunst* as an original, but it is not, as Rosenberg thought, identical with the life-size painting of the same subject now in the Linde Collection and formerly in New York. I cannot agree with Rooses that this is the original and that a third and larger version in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (formerly in the royal palace) is an enlargement made by pupils. On the contrary, the Berlin example is, artistically, the best, and the pictures in the Linde and Clarke Collections are studio copies of portions of it.

eight pictures of this series were in the possession of the Duke of Infantado at Madrid; then six of them passed into the collection of the Duchess of Pastrana, and the remaining two into the Salamanca Collection. The duchess gave two of her six to the museum at Pau; a third, representing Thetis Dipping Achilles Into the Styx, came through the Parisian art dealer Pacully into the possession of Dr. John E. Stillwell of New York; a fourth, showing Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes recently appeared in the German art market.

It is small wonder that the sketches for this set of tapestries should have been copied. Surely, never before or since has the story of Achilles been more admirably illustrated. Rubens' enthusiasm for classic antiquity, his profound understanding of the spirit of the ancient writers, and his ability to shape a world of beauty analogous to theirs, enabled him to create by means of only a few figures dramatic pictures of Homeric simplicity and grandeur. The figure of Achilles with his lust for combat and victory and his propensity for heroic suffering must have taken a strong hold on the artist whose own life was a whirlwind. It expresses more of Rubens' own feeling than we find elsewhere. How clearly the inner conflict is portrayed on the countenance of Achilles where he rushes in threatening wrath upon Agamemnon who has robbed him of Briseis, or where Minerva masters him, grasping him by his blond and flowing hair! How deeply he is stirred by conflicting emotions where Briseis is given back to him! The grief he had felt at the bier of his friend Patroclus still speaks from his features, but joy opens his arms to the maiden who modestly stands before him,

RUBENS, PORTRAIT OF HELIODORO DE BARRERA

COLLECTION OF MR. F. T. FLEITMANN, NEW YORK

unconscious of her radiant charms. And with the same deep sympathy is depicted the death of the hero; the tragedy is touchingly mirrored in his face as, at the very moment when he reaches the protection of the altar, fate overwhelms him.

At about the time when Rubens produced these tapestry patterns he was at work on the subjects for a history of Henri IV which was to form a continuation of the cycle from the life of Marie de' Medici that is now in the Louvre. The execution of this grandiose scheme was interrupted by the arrest of Marie de' Medici and her flight to the Netherlands. The six great unfinished paintings were left on the artist's hands and were still in his house at the time of his death. Two of them, the Entry of Henri IV into Paris and the Battle of Vitry, which found their way into the Uffizi, give assurance that in all probability this series of pictures would have surpassed the Medici series and would have been one of Rubens' most splendid achievements. He had worked enthusiastically on the designs, saying that such purely historical scenes were much better fitted for pictorial representation than the allegorical subjects of the Medici cycle.

As Rubens evidently meant to leave to his pupils the enlargement of these sketches also, he treated them with the same care and the same concentrated power as the designs for tapestries. Two studies for the Entry of Henri IV are in London — one of them in the Wallace Collection and the other, according to Rooses, in private hands; a larger one, probably the final version, came from Lord Darnley's possession into

the collection of Mrs. John W. Simpson of New York. A triumphal procession was a theme well adapted to the art of Rubens who always welcomed a chance to give a dramatic incident a splendid setting. The arrangement is that of a great historical play. The prominent figures are for the most part the spectators and the accompanying soldiers. A whole world seems to have bestirred itself to celebrate a great event with pomp and rejoicing, yet in reality there are only a few groups which, by their display of varied degrees of feeling, make the effect of throngs of people. Here are heralds on horseback with flags, warriors on foot with standards, musicians proudly advancing, and spectators full of enthusiasm and expectation, their joy contrasting with the sorrow of the prisoners at the end of the procession. The whole array is plastically disposed in a concave semicircle densest in the middle where rises above the seething crowd, as though magically evoked, the sharp silhouette of the figure of the monarch, crowned by a winged genius with a wreath of laurel.

Nothing is more striking than the sight of an art as personal as that of Rubens stepping down from its lofty sphere into the actualities of portraiture. Often it struggles in vain with the insignificance of the sitter, far beneath the level of the painter's own nature, and surrounds it with unnaturally loud accessories as though to hide the naked truth. But if the sitter is in any degree in accord with the painter's aspiring aristocratic character, Rubens' dramatic power flames up and creates an orchestral harmony from which a glorified likeness emerges. Of this kind is the portrait

RUBENS, THE FALL OF ICARUS

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

of the Earl of Arundel in Mrs. Gardner's collection at Boston. Even the animated pose, the forward inclination of the body, the proud turn of the head, the light yet firm way in which the hand grasps the truncheon, express the interest excited in the artist. But the lively play of line gains an iridescent effect from the flashing splendour of the light which strikes sharp accents from the breastplate and the helmet, vivifies the eyes, and wraps the whole figure in a vibrating atmospheric envelope. The only strong chord of colour is formed by the flowing red scarf as it crosses the bluish steel.

There is a marked contrast in externals between this picture and the masterly portrait of Heliodoro de Barrera, the Jesuit confessor of Philip IV of Spain, owned by Mr. Frederick T. Fleitmann of New York, which is unobtrusive in arrangement, in technique, and in the browns and grays of the colouring. But the same dramatic intensity and the same controlling intelligence speak from the head of the priest as from the head of Arundel. It is marvellous how the painter has managed to give of his own flesh and blood to this harsh countenance with the low forehead, protruding ears, and piercing eyes, the hawk nose constricted at the nostrils, and the brutally sensual mouth. There must have been something that appealed to Rubens in the autocratic temper or the political sagacity of this Jesuit. How very differently Rembrandt conceived his monks, those figures of mild and brooding aspect who seek to save the world by their example! Rubens portrays the fanatic to whom politics and religion are one and the same and whose weapons in the propagation of his creed are terror and guile. In works of this kind the

attitude toward life and the world that sets these two great painters of the Low Countries so far apart is more clearly revealed than in the great ecclesiastical and allegorical pictures intended for public display.

We come now to the works of Rubens' latter years. Two large pictures of this period — the Holy Family in the Metropolitan Museum and the Diana's Hunt from the Ashburton Collection, now owned by Mrs. Benjamin Thaw of New York — need only be named for they are well known and, as the one was partially painted by pupils and the other is not very well preserved, they are not altogether satisfying. Yet they are splendid in the singular mixed colours of the costumes, in that juxtaposition of orange, purple, and a soft red which is characteristic of Rubens' later works; and the nymphs in Diana's Hunt are very delightful, instinct with a childlike charm that we do not find in the more self-conscious sensuousness of the early pictures.

It is, however, the sketches of this period — there are several in the Johnson and Widener Collections — that appeal to us most strongly, for they have not only great artistic power but also the personal quality that we find, with a difference, in all the late products of great masters. I mean that while other artists speak, toward the close of their career, with the voice of tribulation, Rubens, whose whole life was a victorious march, seems to triumph over all the weaknesses of the spirit. His last works are ethereal and imaginative, full of harmony and joy, radiant with light bright colours. Only now and then, when he is forced to treat a gloomy theme, do we also find a deepening of his feeling for tragedy. Thrillingly he portrays the Fall

RUBENS, THE RAPE OF THE SABINES

COLLECTION OF MR. P. A. B. WIDENER, PHILADELPHIA

of Icarus, the despairing cry of the young aeronaut and the alarmed backward glance of the father, while he gives suavity and beauty to the scene as a whole, bathing it in the golden light of the sun and spreading a soft enchanting landscape beneath the falling figure. In another sketch owned by Mr. Johnson, a touching scene probably taken from Ovid, a tame stag that has been wounded seeks refuge with his mistress who, with a heart-broken look, holds the head of the dying animal in her lap. The mournful aspect of the stag and the lamentations of the girl are rendered with a depth of feeling that we might look for in Rembrandt rather than Rubens. Probably both of these sketches (the second has appeared in the Paris picture market in a better preserved but feebler version) were produced about the year 1635 as parts of the series, commissioned by Philip IV, which with his pupils' aid Rubens painted for the hunting lodge of La Parada near Madrid.

In the way of designs for great historical compositions we have furthermore the Rape of the Sabines in the Widener Collection and the Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines in the Johnson Collection, companion pieces (notwithstanding the difference in shape) that were painted a little later than 1635, at the same time as the large picture of the Rape of the Sabines which is now in the National Gallery at London. The Reconciliation Rubens had treated once before, in 1620 or thereabouts, in a picture, chiefly the work of his pupils, which now hangs in the Munich Pinakothek. And in the same list belong the two similar designs, large autographic sketches, that passed from the Ashburton Collection into the possession of Alfred de

Rothschild of Paris. Certain groups in one of these are exact duplicates of groups in Mr. Johnson's sketch. It is not impossible that the two designs in America are later recastings of the Paris picture that were prepared by Rubens for two larger compositions, ordered by the court of Spain and painted most probably by his pupils, which left his studio only a short time before he died and are now lost. At all events they are in the grand style of his later works. Mr. Widener's especially, the larger and more colourful of the two, is a marvel of free and artistic composition and of joyous colour, with a perfect balance of movement and countermovement in the surging groups that is well in keeping with the rhythmic harmony of the tones. The brilliant whites of the garments of the rider of the white horse in the centre and of his captive are enframed by livelier hues — by the orange and blue of the mantle of the pleading old man and the red scarf of the warrior who lifts the maiden onto the horse. Lighter masses then lose themselves on either hand in the golden illumination of the landscape and the buildings that form the background, and in the corners, again, a few figures stand out in brighter colours, notably the women at the left, frightened yet hesitating in their flight, whose draperies are shot with the singular bluish-red and orange-brown tints of Rubens' latest manner. All of this is rendered in airy tones with a royal freedom of hand and an amazing skill in the management of the masses, which are woven together in an unusual way, like a splendid ornamental pattern, yet clearly express the spirit of the scene in its every detail.

While this composition is developed in a vigorously

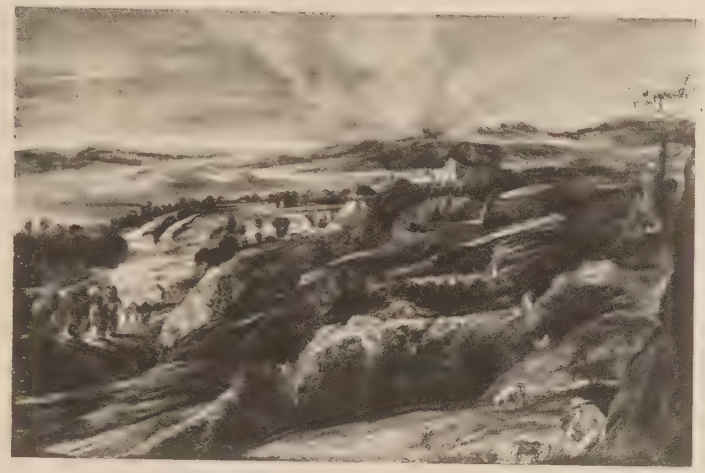
RUBENS, THE RECONCILIATION OF THE ROMANS AND SABINES

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

plastic way from the foreground into a distance of considerable depth, the groups in Mr. Johnson's sketch are set against a dark background, more in the manner of a classic relief, and are so arranged that the action is for the most part from one side of the picture toward the other. Instead of being loosely grouped the masses are now held firmly together and are concentrated not in the centre of the composition but in two foci. The lines radiate in both directions from the heads of the two warriors who rise above the others; and the women in the centre, involved in these centrifugal streams, form the material as well as the spiritual link between the two parts of the design. The vigorous action achieved, in spite of this concentration, in the various figures, the complete emotional surrender with which the women perform their task of reconciliation, the reticence of the low-toned steel-gray colouring that gives the scene a pathetically impassioned character — all these qualities meet in a creation such as only the loftiest genius curbed by life-long experience could have brought forth.

During the last five years of his life Rubens lived in retirement in the country, painting at the mediæval manor of Steen, which with the wide lands belonging to it he had bought, those incomparable landscapes that were to have so high a value for posterity and especially for the art of England as represented by a Constable and a Turner. The prodigious career of the great painter came to an end like the ending of Faust. As is likely to be the case with aging artists, he returned to simple themes and sought for marvels in natural and obvious things, studying the hilly regions

around his estate and the peasants at their humble happy tasks, observing the all-pervasive influence of the atmosphere, and noting the intimate dependence of all living things upon the earth that bears them. He tried to find peace in an escape from the immediate, strongly sensuous visions of an imagination trained by familiarity with human forms. It was not granted to his restless temperament to know the fulness of such peace. A life that had been so incessantly impelled to action by such imperious passions could not suddenly come to rest in a mood of objective contemplation. The desire to produce, to create, still persists, expressing itself less openly and in a different way. Dominated now by inorganic nature, he transmutes it into a personality overbrimming with power, as may be seen in the magnificent sketch, Landscape After Rain, owned by Mr. Johnson. Here the earth is stirred as though by a force from within itself, the steaming heights are lost in luminous wide-spreading clouds, the verdant fields teem and glow with the sap of life, and all the lines of the landscape rise and fall in a single gush of dramatic energy. In this heroic representation of nature, men and animals are of no more account than rocks and bushes. A human being can only let himself be borne along by the tumult of the elements, or sit by the wayside in thoughtful contemplation of the great spectacle.



RUBENS, LANDSCAPE

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

RUBENS, COWS

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

VAN DYCK, AN APOSTLE

IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, NEW YORK

XI

PICTURES BY VAN DYCK IN AMERICA

VAN DYCK, whose gift was primarily for portraiture, occupied himself at first, as did Rembrandt also, with studies of the strongly characterized heads of old men. He cared less, however, for that revelation of the soul which interested Rembrandt than for the decorative sweep of the subject before him. His apostles are play-actors who, to produce an effect at a distance, pose in daring attitudes with over-emphatic gestures while, to express the pathos of their words, their boldly flung draperies, their flowing locks and beards, and even their features assume wide simplified curves.

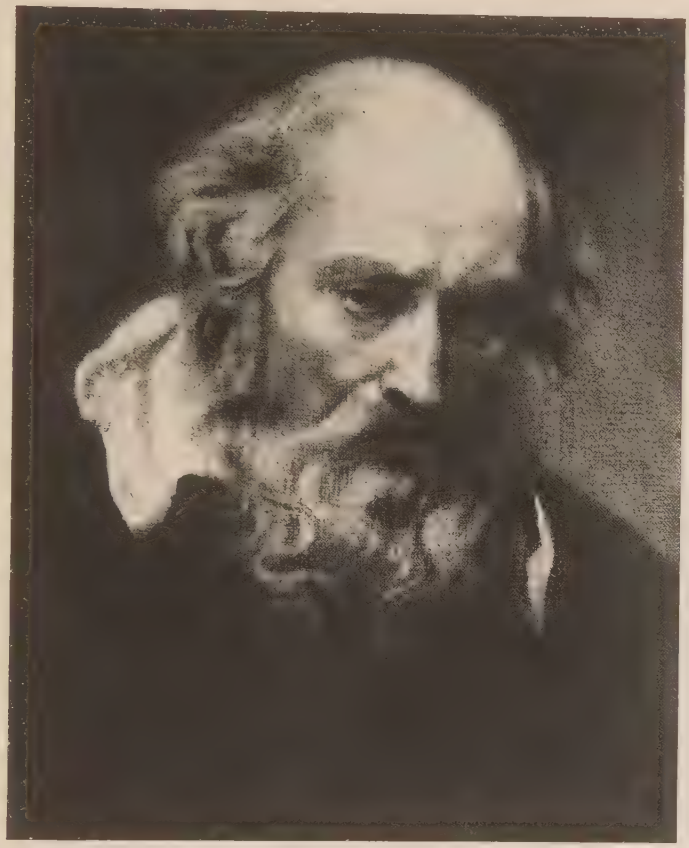
It is known that at the age of sixteen van Dyck had already produced two series of Apostles, one of them with the aid of pupils. Parts of these series are now preserved at Dresden, in the Louvre, and in Lord Spencer's collection at Althorp House; two pictures belonging to them are in private collections in America — one in New York and the other, owned by Mr. F. G. Macomber, in Boston; and a study-head of an old man which was painted at the same time is in the John-

son Collection in Philadelphia. There is still much of Rubens in the way these heads are painted, but the pupil betrays himself in the short nervous curves that break the contour of the forehead, the nose, and the hair as well as in the warm brown tone of the shadows and the scarlet reflections around the eyes.

The youthful female type of this period surpasses in luxuriance of form even the types of Rubens. Yet these figures of van Dyck's have lost the robust and joyous sensuousness of their prototypes; they seem to faint with desire or to be consumed by a fanatical frenzy. Some of them are among the most expressive of van Dyck's creations outside the field of portraiture — for example, the girl in the Worship of the Serpent in the Prado Gallery, in whose face the last upflaring of wild passion is expressed in a masterly way.* Often, however, the artist falls into sentimentality; only the glow of his colour and the fine swing of his design reconcile us to his over-accentuation of the note of pathos.

Van Dyck used the same female model in several of his early compositions, as in the Repentant Magdalene of Sir Frederick Cook and the one in the Amsterdam gallery, in the Delilah at Vienna and the Drunken Silenus at Dresden. The Repentant Magdalene of the Johnson Collection, one of those works in which the young painter abandoned himself to his sense of the woes of the world, looks like a preparatory study for

* In the place where it hangs, this, the most beautiful of van Dyck's early compositions, is still attributed to Rubens, although it has been restored to its painter by Bode and by other critics. The studies, preserved at Bremen and in the British Museum, for the Marriage of St Catherine, which is in the same gallery and is there attributed to Jordaens, prove that it is also one of van Dyck's early works. It was first recognized as such by Hulin and by Buschman (P. Buschman, Jr., *Jacob Jordaens*. Amsterdam, 1905, p. 133).



VAN DYCK, STUDY HEAD

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

VAN DYCK, THE REPENTANT MAGDALENE

COLLECTION OF MR. J. G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

the Amsterdam picture. This restless yielding to the mood of the moment, a youthful trait with emotional natures, reveals and, indeed, exaggerates in a misleading degree all the artist's inborn qualities. Enthusiasm and sensuosness, melancholy and sensibility, are all implicit in the unquiet intricacy of the lines that enframe the figure.

The recent discovery of a portrait of a man by van Dyck, dated in 1613 when he was only fourteen years of age, proves that he had already entered upon his true path when he was making his first studies of heads. The main period of his activity in portraiture, antecedent to his Italian journey, seems to have been from 1618 to 1621. Then, and especially toward the end of the period, he painted a number of portraits that rank among his finest works. Most of them, long attributed to Rubens and other painters, were restored to van Dyck by Bode, to whom we are indebted for the first accurate account of the early phases of the artist's development.

Among the works of this period that are now in America the most famous is, quite rightly, the portrait of Frans Snyders, formerly owned by the Earl of Carlisle and now, together with its pendant, the portrait of Snyders' wife obtained from the Earl of Warwick, in the collection of Mr. Frick in New York. The fact that he had close personal relations with his sitter must have made a difference even to van Dyck. Snyders was a friend whom van Dyck, at his own instance, had painted several times, a friend of like nature with himself, if we may assume the veracity of the portraits. And it is hard not to have faith in them, so amazingly real is the personality they evoke for us. We cannot

help believing in them even though we feel that van Dyck must have put into them a good deal of himself, for we should hardly divine the painter of brutal animal combats and reeking butcher shops in this lean figure with its melancholy eyes and nervous fingers. A singular rhythm of line, which becomes almost extravagantly mobile in the salient curves of the curtain and the hands, is in keeping with the over-sensitive aspect of the figure, and the colouring, dominated by a deep blue and a grayish-purple, reflects the wistful expression of the head.

In addition to this picture of Mr. Frick's, there are three portraits of Snyders by van Dyck — the oft-described double portrait at Cassel, the half-length in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vienna, and a portrait at Raby Castle in England which Lionel Cust mentions but I have not seen. I cannot agree with Cust's opinion that the Frick pictures were painted later than those at Cassel and Vienna and perhaps not until after van Dyck's sojourn in Italy. There is a closer relationship between the three portraits of Snyders than at first glance appears. He sat for but one of them; both the others are autographic copies in which only subordinate parts are changed. The earliest is undoubtedly Mr. Frick's, which is painted as though without break or pause, and has all the freshness of a first impression. The Liechtenstein picture cannot be a preliminary study for this one; the accessories — the pilaster, the curtain, the costume — are more precisely rendered than they would be in a study. It is a copy, of the same date, of part of Mr. Frick's picture, a copy that has lost a little of the vitality of the original.

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF FRANS SNYDERS

COLLECTION OF MR. H. C. FRICK, NEW YORK

A comparison of the picture at Cassel with the two in Mr. Frick's possession throws light upon van Dyck's methods of working. He has fused the two into one, reproducing exactly the upper parts of the bodies as well as the outline of the curtain and the landscape, but, as Snyder's wife was seated, changing the attitude of the husband. The chair upon which he leans in the Frick picture is omitted, while the one upon which he is now sitting is indicated by a knob introduced above his shoulder; and he has laid one hand on his breast and the other on the arm of his wife's chair. The position of the woman's fingers is unchanged, but now she lays her right hand upon her husband's left instead of upon the arm of her chair. These alterations show how easily van Dyck worked even when he had no model before him. Out of two single portraits he makes a group, retaining the most important parts but, without the least suggestion of unveracity, altering at his pleasure the position of the arms. The Frick picture tells why, in the group, the pillar at the back is preserved between the two figures, and why the man is posed in a way which, when closely examined, seems uncomfortable or even impossible, as his legs must come into collision with the woman's chair. The heads lack force when compared with the portraits in New York. Such a picture as the Snyders of the Frick Collection marks the summit of van Dyck's achievement in the portrayal of the well-bred *bourgeoisie* of Holland.

With the pictures of the Genoese period we find him in another world, the world where for the future he was to feel most at home. In this new environment his art grew more exclusive, reserving itself for dwellers

in palaces and their friends. There has never been question of its adequacy within this narrow circle, but ordinary mortals still often bring against it the reproach of a decadent superficiality. The charge is unjust. The art of van Dyck may easily fail to appeal to those who know it only in the cold keeping of a museum, or may merely, like a street parade of royalties, evoke in romantic souls a vision of splendid palaces. But it is wholly convincing where it still serves to glorify an aristocracy with which it shares the task of cultivating in artistic ways the surface of existence. In magnificent apartments these portraits gain reality. They are living decorations that fit into the general frame. They seem to be speaking with a charming smile of delightful unimportant things — of an attractive costume, a graceful pose, a fine saddle-horse, a favourite dog. The content is naught in comparison to the form which, like all perfect things, has the easy effortless look of an instantaneous creation, but in reality is a slowly evolved result of tradition and hard work. The cares of life do not stir the surface of these pictures. Herein they differ from Rembrandt's which are instinct with trouble in every stroke and are therefore ill-adapted to regal surroundings. In such surroundings Rembrandt is like a philosopher gone astray in a palace and preaching wisdom to heedless ears in phrases hard to understand. He claims too much attention; he makes too great a demand upon the less well-endowed observer. Van Dyck asks only a passing glance from the court circle that moves around his feet, only a word of thanks for immortalizing on canvas the intoxicating atmosphere of high-bred society. No one else ever

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA DURAZZO

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

knew so well how to surround his figures with the indefinable glamour — the subtile aroma compounded of nature and of art and emanating from a gesture, a word, or a glance — that constitutes the charm of the patrician world.

It is not fortuitous that the pictures of van Dyck's Genoese period should have been particularly well liked by the nascent aristocracy of the New World. No less than five of the very finest of his portraits of women are in America. Two belong to Mr. Widener of Philadelphia who has fittingly housed them, with four other masterpieces from the same hand, in a room built for the purpose; a third, the portrait of the Marchesa Spinola, is owned by Mr. J. P. Morgan of New York, and the others by Mr. Frick of New York and Mr. Charles Taft of Cincinnati, a brother of the former President. Two of the most beautiful half-lengths of the same period, the Marchesa Durazzo from the Rudolph Kann Collection in Paris, and the Lucas van Uffelen formerly owned by the Duke of Sutherland, are in the Altman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum. And to these must be added several admirable portraits of Genoese aristocrats in the Frick and Untermyer Collections in New York.

The biography of the artist tells us something about the original of one of these portraits. Lucas van Uffelen was one of van Dyck's Flemish acquaintances with whom he grew more intimate during his stay in Genoa, an Antwerp merchant who controlled part of the trade between Antwerp and Genoa, and a collector of works of art. That he also dealt in such works we learn from the account of the sale at auction, at Amster-

dam in 1639, of a number of valuable paintings that he had imported from Italy. As great a person as Rembrandt was interested in this auction and made a sketch of the most important picture — Raphael's portrait of Count Castiglione, now in the Louvre — which is preserved in the Albertina at Vienna with the high price that was paid for the picture noted on the margin.

Van Dyck's etching of Titian and his mistress testifies to his friendship for van Uffelen, bearing the dedication, *Al Signore Luca van Uffel in segno d'affectione et inclinatione amorevole.* In the Brunswick Gallery there is another portrait of van Uffelen by van Dyck, his merchant fleet shown in the background as off the coast of Italy. The finer one in the Altman Collection reveals the road that the artist had travelled since the time when he painted Mr. Frick's portrait of Snyders. The two sitters belonged to the same social stratum, the bourgeois middle class. But we fancy that we recognize in van Uffelen the born aristocrat with whom the expression of the head and the attitude of the body correspond, whereas with Snyders the expression is too strongly marked to be duly subordinate to the self-conscious elegance of the pose. As we see most clearly in the portraits of women of his Genoese period, van Dyck now lays more stress than before upon the quality of distinction in the figure as a whole, upon that harmony between all parts of the body which is always one of the factors in an air of high breeding. Of course this means a loss of expressiveness in the several parts. The general outline has grown simpler. The effect of momentary action, which in the portrait of Snyders is produced by the strong curves, now emanates directly

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF LUCAS VAN UFFELEN

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

from the subject himself, and the fact that he can retain the elegance of his bearing despite his sudden change of position as he turns his head toward a coming visitor enhances the impression of high breeding. Even more conspicuous is the difference in colour between the two pictures. During the years that separated them van Dyck had made acquaintance with the great Venetians, and to the aging Titian, whom he portrayed in the etching dedicated to van Uffelen, more than to any one else he owed the beautiful warm golden tone that now envelopes his sitter, the deep luscious black of the costume, and the play of the peculiar mixed reddish-brown hues in the curtain and the table cover — hues which in his colour-loving youth he had not yet learned to value, but to which his emotional temperament now gives an intenser glow than they have on Titian's canvas.

A love of elegance was developed in van Dyck by his intercourse with the Genoese aristocracy. He is said to have lost his heart to no less a personage than Paola Adorno, the incomparable wife of the Marchese Brignole-Sala, and we almost put faith in the tradition when we remember that he painted her more often and certainly not with less enthusiasm than any other great lady of Genoa. Mr. Frick and Mr. Widener own two of these portraits. In Mr. Widener's the marchesa, accompanied by her son as by a page, is seated like a queen between marble columns. We can divine the artist's intent to create something unprecedented in the way of grandeur and beauty of form. He seems, indeed, to go almost too far. Deferring to the current conception of beauty, he exaggerates the height of the figure

which wins importance also from the trailing robe; and he gives the lady a statuesque air, framing her cool transparent face between the vertical architectural lines and showing it in strict, almost schematized, profile. There is something so superhuman in her grandeur that we feel there can be no link between it and the boy with his precociously self-conscious expression.

At this time, when van Dyck was wholly possessed by the aristocratic ideal, he had little feeling for the characteristics of childhood. When he painted the Genoese ladies with their children he used the doll-like little ones simply as foils to augment the expression of grandeur and of superior intelligence in their elders, somewhat as he put beside a great lady — for example, in the picture owned by Mr. Taft — a playful little dog whose graceful heedless gambols emphasize by contrast her dignified placidity. In the portrait of Paola Adorno he uses the boy with his splendid red and yellow velvet dress as a colour-contrast to the deep black of the satin gown. An art like this was too ambitious and too self-satisfied to take an interest in childhood. Later on, in his English period, when van Dyck stood in a calmer, more objective relation to his sitters, he painted children also with a charming naturalness, but even then only princely children whom a confident self-conscious air well befits.

It was fortunate that he did not paint Elena Grimaldi, the Marchesa Cattaneo, and her children on the same canvas, but chose for her attendant a servant of whom we are better content to have a superficial likeness. The portraits of her son and her daughter which now hang on either side of her own in Mr. Widener's

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA BRIGNOLE-SALA

COLLECTION OF MR. P. A. B. WIDENER, PHILADELPHIA

van Dyck room are satisfying companion pieces, their reticent amber-hued colouring leading up in an admirable way to the glowing marvel between them. This is rightly ranked as one of van Dyck's most incomparable creations. All nature and all art seem to serve this sovereign lady. Everything exists to enhance her charm. Although a full-length portrait of life size always dominates the observer, seldom has a painter known how to express so convincingly the physical and mental superiority of the personage he depicts. As though on Olympian heights the figure sweeps majestically by, casting an indifferent glance on those who stand below. The elevated position, the hiding of the feet by the long robe, the servile attitude and subordinate size of the negro, the lifted parasol that adds, as it were, to the height of the figure — everything helps to augment the grandeur of the splendid apparition. Her slenderness dares to measure itself with the aspiring architecture of the palace, and the definite lines of her dark dress, its aristocratic simplicity emphasized by the golden yellow of the servant's costume and the red of the parasol, contrast effectively with the unquiet structure of the landscape. The head, relieved against the background of deep and glowing colour, is such as we might expect; the flashing eyes, the thin nose and sensitive mouth reveal a person accustomed to dominate by her intelligence and to manifest with unconscious pride her sense of her patrician birth. Nor does the stage-setting seem too elaborate for the characterization of such a figure, for the artist understood that in the portrayal of an aristocrat the environment counts for quite as much as the individuality of the personage.

The marchesa and her surroundings are in perfect accord. Even the flowers in the foreground and the arrangement of the garden have the air of works of art, and the veiled yet glowing tones of the sky create a magical atmosphere from which the figure emerges as from amber-coloured clouds.

It is a remarkable fact that when van Dyck's art was full of a lofty energy, a burning enthusiasm, it was his task to paint high-born personages of the Latin race, and later, when it had grown colder and paler, to portray the impassive nobles of the English court. Or was he perhaps of so malleable a nature that he formed himself on the aristocrats of alien lands? Was he one of those pliant, over-excitable beings who come to life only in the company of others and then show the splendour of their powers as circumstances may dictate? However this may be, with van Dyck, as with all great men, inner development and outer achievement seem to go hand in hand. When he returned from Italy to the Low Countries his characteristics changed with the change of climate. Instead of the warm enthusiasm of the south we have now an attitude of reserve, instead of a buoyant impetuosity a contemplative subjective mood, and canvases with a silvery-gray scheme of colour instead of a warm and golden tone. The artist remembers again the ideals of his youth which demanded above all else the significant characterization of a head. But as in the meantime he has lost his tendency to exaggerate and has gained the power to express a natural kind of elegance, he now gives his figures individuality combined with an air of aristocratic reserve.

Part of the credit for this revival of his interest in

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA CATTANEO

COLLECTION OF MR. P. A. B. WIDENER, PHILADELPHIA

the interpretation of character was undoubtedly due to his sitters. Never, not in Genoa nor later on in England, had he more important personages to portray than in the five years of this second Antwerp period, between 1627 and 1632, for the stage for the chief events, military and intellectual, in the drama of European life was then set in the Low Countries. Almost every great soldier, artist, and statesman who lived or briefly tarried in the cosmopolis called Antwerp sat to the painter who had become world-famous during his residence in Italy. If it is hard for the observer to remember the features of Genoese and of English nobles, he does not so easily forget the striking personalities of this intermediate period — the portraits of such artists as Ryckaert, Pepijn, and Snayers, of such scholars as van der Wouwer, Scribani, and Puteanus, and such military commanders as Spinola, Thomas de Carignan, Albert von Arenberg, and Hendrick van der Bergh.

The many religious pictures that van Dyck painted at this time for the churches of Flanders are another proof of his growth in intellectual seriousness, although they do not rank among his finest works. Ecstatic in expression and gray in tone, they reveal an almost tragic effort to succeed in a direction where he never developed into anything more than an imitator, with an exaggerating brush, of his great forerunner, Rubens.

Two portraits now in America, the Count of Nassau in the collection of Mrs. Emery at Cincinnati and a portrait of a man owned by the late Mr. M. C. D. Borden of New York, mark the opposite extremes of van Dyck's achievement at this time. The Count

of Nassau approximates closely in style to the Genoese portraits. It has the same bold energy and the same freedom in rendering the self-confident air of the original, and although cooler in its general tone it shows the same juxtaposition of a warm red and a steel-blue that appears in portraits of Genoese generals. But the drawing is now more definite and decided, and the more solidly constructed figure has a simpler aspect. The character of the original, more clearly revealed, makes a stronger appeal to the observer. Again the artist has selected a pose in which there are contrasts of direction, turning the body and the arms to one side and the head to another as, to give dramatic point to the presentment, he did in many of the Genoese portraits — in Lucas van Uffelen's, for example, and the Marchesa Cattaneo's. But the turning of the figure is now managed in a less arbitrary fashion; it is developed, so to say, more from within, by the sitter's own volition, as a comparison with the military portraits at Dresden and Vienna may perhaps make plain.

On the other hand, the portrait owned by Mr. Borden is extremely simple, as simple in both pose and colour as it is possible to imagine a picture by van Dyck. The head, with the upper part of the body, is shown in full face, the eyes turned quietly upon the spectator; the dress is black, the background is gray, and the unobtrusive technique is altogether unlike the bold broad handling in works of the artist's early period. Nor could he have gone farther in eliminating accessories so as to concentrate attention upon the head. Yet even so he manages to suggest an aristocrat. Per-

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF A GENOESE LADY

COLLECTION OF MR. C. P. TAFT, CINCINNATI

sonal importance and high breeding are both implied by the way in which the figure is placed within the frame, by the wide sweep of the cloak, the small size of the head as compared with the body, and the languid droop of the hand. The fact that van Dyck could now conceal the means by which he achieved such a result is proof of the progress he had made in his art.

From the splendid portraits of the Genoese and the cooler ones of the later Antwerp period we come now to those where English courtiers wear an air of reserve that is evidently theirs by nature. From the attractive round-faced and dark-eyed types of Italy and the strong rugged lineaments of Dutchmen and Flemings we turn to the beauty of thin faces with long chins and blond hair.

The art of van Dyck drew new life from the new land. Apparently he was one of those unstable impressionable beings who, to keep their faculties alert, must seek every few years the stimulus of a novel environment. In a sort of reaction from the gray mood of his Antwerp period the pictures of his first years in England are bold of aspect, fresh, and full of colour. A beautiful example of this manner, splendid by reason of the reds and yellows of the dress, is the Viscount Grandison owned by Mr. Harry Payne Whitney of New York. Abandoning the complicated theatrical poses that he gave his Genoese nobles, the artist, we feel, is now striving for a natural, seemingly unstudied simplicity in accord with the northern ideal of high breeding. In an animated attitude that expresses an amiable romantic temperament, the young man stands with one foot drawn back, doffing his feathered hat and

turning his head slightly to one side as though waiting for a word from the observer.

Less fascinating at first sight but better thought-out in respect to character is the portrait of James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. Dating from the middle of van Dyck's English period, it is one of its very finest products. Van Dyck painted several portraits of this rather unimportant looking but attractive friend and courtier of Charles I, and, as the preparatory sketches show, he took particular pains with the one that now concerns us. Probably it was only for the head that the duke actually sat to him. A beautiful crayon drawing in the British Museum shows that the dress with the Order of the Garter was sketched from another model; and, indeed, we know that at this time van Dyck was often compelled to finish the costumes in his portraits as he might see fit. The study for the head, whether done at once on the large canvas or separately, he used a second time, with only a few changes, in the portrait of the duke in the guise of Paris that is now in the Louvre. Two separate studies of the dog, also in the British Museum, show how cleverly they were combined in the picture. In the figure of the duke the qualities of a courtier are admirably interpreted. He is not handsome nor does he look particularly intelligent, but the large dreamy eyes and the long fair curls that accord so well with the blue of the Garter ribbon give him a romantic air, and the fawning devotion of the dog adds a touch of graciousness to the proud personality. Seldom, in line, in handling, or in sentiment, have a human being and an animal been so well as-

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF VISCOUNT GRANDISON

COLLECTION OF MR. H. P. WHITNEY, NEW YORK

sociated upon canvas. To the observer the bond between them seems to be less the mutual affection of a man and a dog than the qualities that they have in common as consummate representatives of their respective species.

Comparing this picture with the Grandison portrait we learn how van Dyck expressed different temperaments by means of differences in pose and contour. In the Grandison portrait the attitude is upright and all the lines fall into wide open curves. In the portrait of the duke the broken curves returning upon themselves give a suggestion of indolence; the legs are bent and seem to advance but uncertainly; everything betrays a nonchalant ease in keeping with the temperament of the aristocratic Englishman.

In conclusion I may note a work of van Dyck's last years, the portrait of Catherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny, owned by Mr. Widener. In a pale-red silk dress, with scarcely any adornment excepting pearls on the neck and shoulders and in the ears, the figure floats by with a tired indifferent smile. The countenance, almost blank in its expression of refinement, its air of unconcern, the pale diaphanous figure, the affected gesture of the extended arm, the fingers scarcely able to hold the flowers, all seem to say that a blight has fallen on the great master's art. Painting means nothing more to him now than a thrice-familiar kind of play. The technique is facile and unobtrusive and the colour-scheme as simple as possible — a black background, a rose-coloured dress, and a uniformly pallid flesh-tone. The expression of high breeding comes naturally to the artist's brush, but his delight in the

high-bred world has disappeared; now that he is master of its aspects it seems to him lifeless and dull. What a change since his days in Genoa! His enthusiasm for an unfamiliar world of splendid palaces and princes has turned into a cool contemplation of lofty personages whom he considers merely his equals. He had now been knighted, he had grown rich, he lived like a prince, and made his journeys with five servants in a coach-and-four. In Italy his fellow-artists had laughed when the title *Cavaliere* was given him. Now more than one of them sought the favour of Sir Anthony who had become a power in the realm of art.

Pitiable indeed when we think of such a life seems the manner of its ending. Was it unnatural that van Dyck should aspire to the highest walks of life? Did not other great artists have similar desires, fixing their eyes on some princely circle and longing to share in its seductive pleasures, which meant more to the lowly born than to its own members? They were lucky if they were not fated to be stifled by such an atmosphere. Rembrandt could not accommodate himself to society; thrust back from its portals, he withdrew into himself to accomplish greater things. Rubens, intelligent enough not to heed the invitations of princes to attach himself to their courts, remained within the narrow bounds of his own family circle. But the handsome young van Dyck felt at home in the company of the rich and followed them up to all the heights and into all the depths of pleasure. His unsatisfied soul found rest at a level where the struggle for existence was unknown. Or was the lassitude that overcame him in the prime of life due, perhaps, in part to physical causes? As a

VAN DYCK, PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENNOX

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boy he overtaxed nature in working at his art, and at too early an age he won a great success in a foreign land. So the restless spirit that impelled him to an ever-increasing activity must all the sooner have exhausted the overstimulated body. Now it seemed as though the world were determined, in the hour of his physical weakness, to take revenge for his vaulting ambition upon the artist whom it had favoured so long.

It is no wonder that this great painter under whose eye had passed the cultivated society of a whole continent and a great epoch, the most distinguished and the most patrician figures of contemporary Europe, this painter who had not merely seen hundreds of artists and poets, scholars and diplomats, generals and princes, but had learned to know them with the intimacy possible to a portrait painter penetrating the souls of his sitters — it is no wonder that, after the death of Rubens, van Dyck aspired to rule alone in the kingdom of art; nor is it strange that, loving to entertain his friends, he made exorbitant demands upon the purses of the nobles who had combined to spoil him. Which of the great painters of his time had had such experiences as he? Not Frans Hals or Rembrandt; they were not of the same social rank. Not Velasquez who confined himself to the court of Spain. Not Rubens who was too much occupied with his own daring ideas. Why, then, since he stood at the top in other respects, should not van Dyck also fill the place left vacant by the death of Rubens? It is singular, perhaps, that at so late a day the ambition of an artist who had painted portraits a thousand times but large compositions only once in a while and always under the influence of

Rubens, could deceive himself with regard to his own capabilities. Perhaps he felt that his powers were declining, and thought that a bold start in a new direction might revive them. While he was young he may not have been oppressed by the existence of an artist so much greater than himself as Rubens, although, indeed, it may have been to escape from his master's dominance that he lived for the most part in foreign lands. But when Rubens died it was very evident that van Dyck had been waiting for his high place, for he stood ready to gather up at once all the threads that his master's hand let fall. Envious fate, however, was to grant him no such triumph. As soon as he returned to Antwerp to take over the deserted studio his difficulties began. He wanted to do everything in his own way and better than it had been done before. His negotiations with Philip IV of Spain, about completing the works that Rubens had commenced, fell through because of his large demand that he should be allowed to start everything afresh. He wanted to finish the decorations of Whitehall for Charles I — another piece of work that Rubens had begun — but asked so enormous a price that again he got no farther. Then he turned toward Paris, proposing to paint for the court a series of pictures even more extensive than Rubens' Medici series, but the artists of France were given the preference. Passionately he sought in every quarter for commissions for such historical or mythological works as had lain in Rubens' province but did not lie in his own. Everywhere he was given to understand that his master could not be replaced.

To these professional disappointments there were

added in his latter years private experiences that wholly undid him. Some of his friends, chief among them Sir Kenelm Digby, induced him to waste money and unavailing strength upon alchemistic experiments. In order to check his reckless ways of living King Charles married him to a lady of the court, but the union seems to have been unhappy. His former mistress, Margarethe Lemon, pursued him with her jealousy and once, it is said, aimed a knife-blow at his right hand, meaning to put an end to his painting. When he returned to London from the fruitless journeys prompted by his desire to fill Rubens' empty place his health was already broken. During his last illness a daughter was born to him, but in the will that he drew up shortly afterward he provided less well for her than for an illegitimate child. He died at the age of forty-two, eighteen months after the death of Rubens.

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In especial I am indebted to the writings (among them the privately printed Architektonische Kunstbeschowing) of C. H. Peters, State Architect of the Netherlands, whose labours in the investigation of the mediæval architecture of Holland have been of the first importance.

THE HAARLEM SCHOOL OF PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Our present knowledge of the history of Early-Dutch painting is due in major part to Dr. M. J. Friedländer. It is an achievement of which the science of criticism may well be proud, for scarcely anything that related to the Dutch painters of the fifteenth century had been gleaned from the records and the indications of van Mander except in regard to three or four altar-pieces by Dirk Bouts and the two panels by Geertgen that are preserved in Vienna, whereas to-day we know almost a dozen painters of the period and are able to follow in detail the development of the school through the second half of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. We have quite a different idea of such masters as Dirk Bouts and Geertgen now that about thirty pictures of the one and fifteen of the other are known to us. The credit for the resuscitation of one of the greatest of these early Dutchmen, the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, is due entirely to the criticism that is based upon questions of style, for the literature of his time, in so far as it has come down to us, apparently makes no mention of him. In the following list of the works of the various painters of the period, where I have always indicated the fact when I have not seen the original of a picture, I have adopted for the most part the conclusions of Friedländer and Hulin. The scepticism in respect to these conclusions that has been expressed (in the works named below) by Voll and, with regard to certain particulars, by Heiland and by Balet, has in my opinion led to nothing.

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For a list of the works of Haarlem painters of the fifteenth century see Appendix I.

THE SATIRICAL WORK OF QUENTIN METSYS

The best treatise on Quentin Metsys is Walter Cohen's Studien zu Quentin Metsys (Bonn, 1904), which I had not yet seen when my article was published in Les Anciens Arts de Flandres. Dr. Friedländer's

essay upon the artist in Museum, 1905, is an admirable piece of characterization. The relations between Metsys and Dürer will be considered in detail by Friedländer and Jan Veth in their forthcoming book upon Dürer's journey in the Netherlands. My attempt to attribute to Metsys the St. Jerome in the Palazzo Rosso at Genoa now seems to me a mistake, and I have therefore changed the latter part of my article. This picture, as also a similar one at Modena, is more in the manner of Jan van Hemessen.

REMBRANDT'S REPRESENTATIONS OF SUSANNA

I am indebted to Dr. Wilhelm Bode for a knowledge of Lastman's picture of Susanna, formerly owned by M. Paul Delaroff of St. Petersburg. When it was exhibited in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Bode himself discussed the representations of Susanna in the Amtlichen Berichten der Berliner Museum (1910). In Kurt Friese's excellent biography of Pieter Lastman he has spoken exhaustively of the relation of Rembrandt to his master. The drawing attributed to Rembrandt which was recently acquired by the Dresden Print Room and was published by Burckhardt in the Jahrbuch der kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 1912, seems to me dubious.

THE WORKS OF RUBENS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

For some corrections in this article I am indebted to Dr. G. Glück of Vienna and Dr. R. Oldenbourg of Munich.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

I

WORKS BY PAINTERS OF THE HAARLEM SCHOOL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

DIRK BOUTS

Altar-pieces

1. The Sacrament. 1464-68. Louvain, Church of St. Peter; Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum; Munich, Old Pinakothek.
2. The Fall of the Damned into Hell. 1468-70. Probably a wing of the altar-piece with representations of Justice that was intended for Louvain. Paris, Louvre.
3. Scenes from the Life of the Emperor Otto III. 1470-75. Two panels. Brussels, Museum.
4. St. Hippolytus. About 1475. Bruges, Church of St. Sauveur.
5. St. Erasmus. Louvain, Church of St. Peter.
6. The Passion. Granada, Royal Chapel.
7. The Passion. Munich, Old Pinakothek; Nuremberg, Germanic Museum; Wörlitz, Gothic House.
8. Domestic Altar of the Snoy Family, the so-called "Pearl of Brabant." Munich, Old Pinakothek.

Other Religious Pictures

9. The Fountain of Life. Lille, Museum.
10. The Entombment. London, National Gallery (attributed to Rogier van der Weyden).
11. The Lamentation at the Cross. Paris, Louvre.

12. The Baptism of Christ. St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg Collection.
13. Moses at the Burning Bush. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection. From the Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris.
14. Christ in the House of Simon. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Thiem Collection).
15. Christ on the Cross. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Thiem Collection).
16. The Nativity. Fragments. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum; Frankfort, Noll Collection.
17. The Nativity. Fragment. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.

Madonnas

18. Virgin Enthroned with St. Peter and St. Paul. London, National Gallery.
19. Madonna. Half-length. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
20. Madonna. Half-length. Florence, Bargello.
21. Madonna. Half-length. Replica of No. 20. Newport, R. I., Davis Collection.
22. Madonna. Half-length. London, National Gallery.
23. Madonna. Half-length. Antwerp, Museum.
24. Madonna. Half-length. Antwerp, Mair van den Bergh Collection.
25. Madonna. Half-length. Sigmaringen.
26. Madonna. Half-length. Munich, Pourtalès Collection.
27. Madonna. Half-length. Prague, Rudolfinum.
28. Madonna. Half-length. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg.

Portraits

29. Portrait of a Man. 1462. London, National Gallery.
30. Portrait of a Man. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). From the Oppenheim Collection, Cologne.

Nos. 6, 25, and 26 I have not seen. The altar-piece at Granada (No. 6) is universally accepted, while the pictures at Sigmaringen (No. 25) and in the Pourtalès Collection at Munich (No. 26) have been identified by Friedländer.

AELBERT VAN OUWATER

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

PICTURES IN THE MANNER OF DIRK BOUTS

1. MADONNA AND CHILD ON A GRASSY BANK. Hayward Heath, Stephenson Clarke Collection.
2. Replica of No. 1 with a different background. Leitmeritz, Cathedral.
3. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. Mexico.
4. THE SIBYL AND THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS. Frankfort, Städel Institute (attributed to Dirk Bouts).
5. THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. By the same hand as No. 4. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.

Nos. 2 and 3 are known to me only in photographs, and through Hofstede de Groot (No. 2) and Hugo von Tschudi (No. 3).

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS

1. HOLY FELLOWSHIP (Church Interior). Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
2. THE NATIVITY. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
3. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
4. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
5. THE NATIVITY. Berlin, von Kaufmann Collection.
6. MADONNA. Life-size, half-length. Berlin, von Holitscher Collection.
7. DIPTYCH. Brunswick, Gallery.
8. EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. BAVON. Haarlem, Church of St. Bavon.
9. MADONNA. Small half-length. Milan, Ambrosiana.
10. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. Paris, Louvre.
11. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Triptych. Prague, Rudolfinum.
12. CHRIST IN THE SEPULCHRE. Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum.

13. Pieta. Vienna, Hof Museum.
14. The Burning of the Bones of St. John the Baptist. Vienna, Hof Museum.

COPIES OF LOST WORKS BY GEERTGEN

15. The Legend of St. Domenick. London, Turner Collection.
16. Madonna and Saints in a Forest. Triptych. London, National Gallery.

This is by the Master of the Morrison Triptych, to whom Friedländer rightly assigns the following works as well:

1. Triptych. After Memling. London, Morrison Collection.
2. The Adoration of the Magi. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.
3. Madonna and Child. Half-length. Nuremberg, Germanic Museum (attributed to Quentin Metsys).

PICTURES IN THE MANNER OF GEERTGEN

1. Portrait of the Burgomaster of Schiedam. Dated 1489. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.
2. St. Martin. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.
3. St. Anne with the Virgin and Child. Schloss Arensburg near Bückeburg.
4. Holy Family. Cologne, Museum.
5. Triptych. Spain. Published by Kronig in Les Arts.

This last and the Morrison Triptych I know only in reproductions.

PAINTERS INFLUENCED BY GEERTGEN

THE MASTER OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY

1. The Martyrdom of St. Lucy. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
2. The Crucifixion. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
3. The Crucifixion. Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum.
4. The Descent from the Cross. Vienna, Figdor Collection.

GERARD DAVID (EARLY WORKS)

Here I may refer the reader to Bodenhausen's book and to the supplement to the list of works there given in the Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1911.

THE MASTER OF THE ANTWERP TRIPTYCH

1. The Madonna with Saints. Triptych. Antwerp, Museum.
2. The Assumption of the Virgin. Bonn, Provincial Museum.
3. The Virgin and St. Michael. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

The relationship between these three pictures was first remarked by Walter Cohen. The records of the city of Haarlem for the year 1500 mention a commission for an altar-piece with the Assumption of the Virgin in the centre which had been given to a "son of Jan Mostaert" by the Church of St. Bavon. This reference may be thought to indicate the picture now in Bonn but, to judge by the date, the artist was more probably the father than the son of the well-known Jan Mostaert.

THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR

1-7. The Seven Works of Mercy. Alkmaar, Great Church.
8, 9. The Circumcision of Christ; Christ in the Temple. Two large panels. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
10. The Presentation in the Temple. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
11. Christ in Limbo. Prague, Nostitz Collection.
12. The Martyrdom of a Saint. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.
13. St. Anne with the Virgin and Child and Saints. New York, offered for sale.

JAN MOSTAERT (SUPPOSED EARLY WORKS)

1. The Tree of Jesse. Rome, Stroganoff Collection.
2. The Sibyl and the Emperor Augustus. Antwerp, Museum.

I formerly attributed this picture, probably without

due warrant, to the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines. (See the catalogue of the Antwerp Museum.) The attribution to Jan Mostaert is not wholly convincing.

3. Triptych with a Pietà in the centre. A copy of the picture by Geertgen now in Vienna. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.

JACOB CORNELISZ (EARLY WORKS)

1. Calvary. Amsterdam, Rijks Museum.
2. Calvary. Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.
3. Calvary. Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection.
4. Panel with the Crucifixion in the centre and scenes from the Passion at the sides. Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum.

II

WORKS BY RUBENS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

1. St. Peter. About 1603-4. Larchmont, New York, Collection of Eugene Baross.
2. The Crucifixion. About 1610. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
3. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Sketch. About 1612. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
4. Portrait of a Man and His Wife. About 1614. Boston, Collection of Mrs. Robert D. Evans.
5. Portrait of a Young Man. Study. About 1615. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.
6. The Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter. About 1615. New York, Collection of W. R. Bacon.
7. Romulus and Remus. Sketch. About 1615. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
8. The Wolf and Fox Hunt. About 1616. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
9. The Steer Hunt. Sketch. Studio replica. About 1616. New York, Ehrich & Co.
10. The Feast of the Gods. About 1615. Yonkers, New York, Collection of Mrs. Samuel Untermyer.

11, 12. Heads of Two of the Three Kings. Autographic replicas of parts of the altar-piece at Mechlin. About 1618. New York, Collection of Charles H. Senff.

13. The Adoration of the Kings. Sketch for the picture at Munich. About 1619. Montreal, Collection of Sir William Van Horne.
14. The Emblem of Christ Appearing to the Emperor Constantine. Sketch. About 1621-22. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.

15. Portrait of Ambrogio Spinola. About 1625. Chicago, Art Institute. From the Demidoff Collection.
16. The same as No. 15, with alterations. About 1625. Chicago (?), in private ownership.
17. Holy Family. About 1625. San Francisco, Collection of W. H. Crocker. From the Blenheim Collection.
18. The same composition as No. 17. According to Max Rooses, the original. St. Louis, Collection of Edward A. Faust.
19. St. Cecilia. About 1627. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer.
20. Madonna Adored by Saints. Sketch. Studio replica. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
21. The Entry of Henri IV into Paris. Sketch. About 1629. New York, Collection of John W. Simpson.
22. Portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. About 1630. Boston, Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner.
23. Portrait of Heliodoro de Barrera. About 1630. New York, Collection of Frederick T. Fleitmann.
24. Abraham and Melchisedek. Study. From a series of designs for tapestries. Studio replica. About 1626-28. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
25. The Triumph of the Sacrament over Folly. From the same series. Studio replica. Cleveland, Collection of J. H. Wade.

    I am indebted to Mr. A. F. Jaccacci for calling my attention to this study which I have not seen.
26. The Family of Rubens. Sketch. About 1630. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Formerly owned by Lord Darnley.
27. Thetis Dipping the Young Achilles in the Styx. From a series of designs for tapestries. About 1630-35. New York, Collection of John E. Stillwell.
28. Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes. Study. From the same series. School replica. Philadelphia, Fairmount Park Museum (Willstach Collection).
29. Achilles and Briseis. Study. From the same series. Studio replica. New York, Collection of Jacob H. Schiff.

30. Dædalus and Icarus. Sketch. About 1635. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
31. The Wounded Stag. Sketch. About 1635. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
32. The Intercession of St. Theresa. Studio replica. About 1633-35. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.
33. Portrait of Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante of Spain. About 1635. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.
34. Portrait of a Lady in Black. About 1635. Baltimore, Collection of Henry B. Jacobs.
35. Apollo and the Muses. About 1638. New York, Collection of William A. Clark.
36. The Rape of the Sabines. Sketch. About 1638. Philadelphia, Collection of P.A.B. Widener.
37. The Return of the Sabines. Sketch. About 1638. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
38. Two Cows. About 1635-40. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
39. Landscape. About 1635-40. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
40. Landscape with Figures of Philemon and Baucis. Study for the picture in the Hof Museum at Vienna. About 1638-40. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
41. Holy Family. About 1635-40. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
42. The Stag Hunt. In collaboration with Snyders and Wildens. About 1638. New York, Collection of Mrs. Benjamin Thaw.

III

WORKS BY VAN DYCK IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

EARLY WORKS

1. St. Bartholemew. About 1616. Replica of the pictures in Dresden and at Althorp House. Boston, Collection of F. G. Macomber.
2. The Apostle Judas. About 1616. Norristown, Pennsylvania, Collection of Mr. Charles F. Williams.
3. Old Man. Study head. About 1616. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
4. The Repentant Magdalene. About 1616-18. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
5. Portrait of a Man. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. From Lord Methuen's collection.
6. Portrait of a Woman. About 1618-20. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
7. Family Portrait: Man, Woman, and Child on a Verandah. About 1618-20. Baltimore, Collection of Henry B. Jacobs.
8. Portrait of Nicholas Rockox. About 1620. Baltimore, Collection of Henry B. Jacobs.
9. Portrait of Frans Snyders. About 1620. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick.
10. Portrait of the Wife of Frans Snyders. About 1620. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick.
11. Portrait of a Lady. 1622. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Attributed also to Cornelis de Vos.

GENOESE PERIOD. 1621-26

12. PORTRAIT OF ELENA GRIMALDI, MARCHESA CATTANEO. About 1623. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
13. PORTRAIT OF CLELIA CATTANEO, Daughter of Elena Grimaldi. 1623. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
14. PORTRAIT OF FILIPPO CATTANEO, Son of Elena Grimaldi. 1623. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
15. PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA GIOVANNA CATTANEO, Daughter of Giovanni Battista Cattaneo. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
16. PORTRAIT OF CANEVARI. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
17. PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY. Yonkers, New York, Collection of Mrs. Samuel Untermyer. From the Palazzo Cattaneo.
18. PORTRAIT OF PAOLA ADORNO, MARCHESA BRIGNOLE–SALA. Philadelphia, Collection of P . A. B. Widener. From the Earl of Warwick's Collection.
19. The same as No. 18. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. From the Duke of Abercorn's collection.
20. PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESE GIAN VINCENZO IMPERIALE. 1625. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Formerly owned by the Marchese Cesare Imperiale of Tenalba.
21. PORTRAIT OF A GENERAL IN ARMOUR. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener.
22. PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA DURAZZO. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). From the Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris.
23. PORTRAIT OF LUCAS VAN UFFELEN. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). From the Duke of Sutherland's collection.
24. PORTRAIT OF A LADY OF RANK. Cincinnati, Collection of Charles P. Taft.

25. Portrait of the Dogaressa Antonia Lercari (?). Probably a studio replica of the portrait of the Marchesa Cattaneo in the National Gallery at London. Montreal, Collection of James Ross. Formerly owned by the Marchese Imperiali-Coccapani of Modena.
26. Holy Family: The Virgin with the Child, St. Joseph, and the Infant John the Baptist. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry E. Huntington. A school copy is in the Palazzo Doria at Genoa and was reproduced by M. Menotti in Archivio Storice dell'arte, 1897.
27. Mater Dolorosa. Head in profile. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.
28. The Marriage of St. Catherine. Chicago, Collection of A. A. Sprague.
29. The Assumption of the Virgin. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. From the Hope Collection, Deepdene.

SECOND ANTWERP PERIOD. 1626-31

30. Portrait of a Gentleman, presumably Le Roy. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
31. Portrait of a Guitar-player. New York, Collection of Jacob H. Schiff.
32. Portrait of a Man. Probably the engraver Schelte a Bolswert. (Compare the engraving by Adriaen Lommelin after van Dyck.) New York (?), Recently in the collection of the late M. C. D. Borden.
33. Portrait of Anna Maria de Schodt. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. According to Bode, perhaps by Cornelis de Vos.
34. Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. New York, New York Historical Society.
35. Portrait of a Gentleman. New York, Collection of John W. Simpson.
36. Portrait of a Lady. Cincinnati, Collection of Mrs. Thomas J. Emery.
37. Portrait of Helene du Bois. Chicago, Art Institute.

38. Portrait of a Lady. Grisaille. Boston, Collection of F. G. Macomber.
39. The Crucifixion. Sketch. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson.

ENGLISH PERIOD. 1632-40

40. Portrait of John Villiers, Viscount Grandison. New York, Collection of Harry Payne Whitney.
41. Portrait of Graf Johann von Nassau-Liegen. About 1634. Cincinnati, Collection of Mrs. Thomas J. Emery. From the Ashburton collection.
42. Portrait of James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. From Lord Methuen's collection.
43. Portrait of a Lady. Boston, Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner. Formerly owned by the Duke of Ossuna of Madrid.
44. Portrait of Catherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. From the Earl of Clarendon's collection.
45. Portrait of George Hay, Earl of Kinnoul. New York, Knoedler & Co. From the Earl of Clarendon's collection.
46. Portrait of the Earl of Derby with His Wife and Daughter. New York, Knoedler & Co. From the Earl of Clarendon's collection.
47, 48. Portraits of Two Lord Herberts. New York, Collection of William A. Clark.
49. Portrait of the Countess of Rivers and Her Sister, Elizabeth Thimbleby. Studio replica of the picture in Lord Spencer's collection, Althorp House. Baltimore, Collection of Henry B. Jacobs.

IV

WORKS BY REMBRANDT IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

The references to publications in the following lists are chiefly to Wilhelm Bode, assisted by C. Hofstede de Groot, The Complete Work of Rembrandt, Paris, 1902 (which is cited simply as Bode), and to W. R. Valentiner, Rembrandt, in the series called Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart, 3d. edition, 1909 (which is cited as Klassiker der Kunst). In the case of recently discovered pictures, not mentioned in these works, reference is made to other books or periodicals in which they are reproduced. The Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue is the catalogue of the loan collection of Dutch works of art exhibited in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in 1909.

1. Balaam. 1626. New York, Collection of Mrs. Ferdinand Hermann. Pub.: Klassiker der Kunst, 3; Bode in Art in America, 1913, 3.
2. Portrait of the Artist. About 1628. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Pub.: Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 74; Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1912.
3. Portrait of the Artist. 1629. Boston, Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner. Pub.: Bode, 18; Klassiker der Kunst, 31.
4. The Father of Rembrandt. About 1629. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Pub.: Bode, 543; Klassiker der Kunst, 43.
5. Study of a Turk. About 1629. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 473.

6. Portrait of Rembrandt's Father. About 1630. Chicago, Collection of Mrs. L. Kimball. Pub.: Bode, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1912, 210. The original of the replica published in Bode, 29, and in Klassiker der Kunst, 44.

7, 8. Two Studies of Rembrandt's Father. About 1630. Philadelphia, Collection of John D. McIlhenny. Not yet published.

9. Portrait of the Artist. 1631. Toledo, Collection of Edward D. Libbey. Pub.: Klassiker der Kunst, 33; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 75.

10. Portrait of the Artist. 1631. Chicago, Collection of Frank G. Logan. Pub.: Bode, 548; Klassiker der Kunst, 49; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 76.

11. Portrait of Nicholas Ruts. 1631. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Pub.: Bode, 51; Klassiker der Kunst, 66; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 77.

12. Portrait of a Young Man. About 1631. New York, Collection of Frederick T. Fleitmann. Pub.: Bode, 559; Klassiker der Kunst, 67.

13. Portrait of a Man. About 1632. New York, New York Historical Society. Pub.: Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1909; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 84.

14. Portrait of a Turk. 1632. New York, Collection of William K. Vanderbilt. Pub.: Bode, 145; Klassiker der Kunst, 145; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 79.

15. St. John the Baptist. 1632. New York, Collection of the late Charles Stewart Smith. Pub.: Bode, 134; Klassiker der Kunst, 113; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 80.

16. Portrait of a Man. 1632. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 73; Klassiker der Kunst, 78.

17. Portrait of a Man of the van Beresteyn Family. 1632. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 82; Klassiker der Kunst, 74.

18. Portrait of a Woman of the van Beresteyn Family. 1632. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 83; Klassiker der Kunst, 75.

19. Portrait of a Man. 1632. New York, Collection of James W. Ellsworth. Pub.: Bode, 81; Klassiker der Kunst, 82; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 78.
20. Portrait of a Musician. 1633. New York, Collection of Senator William A. Clark. Pub.: Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1912.
21. Portrait of a Young Man. 1633. Cincinnati, Collection of Charles P. Taft. Pub.: Bode, 100; Klassiker der Kunst, 96.
22. Portrait of a Woman. 1633. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 561; Klassiker der Kunst, 98.
23. The Timorous Disciples in the Storm. 1633. Boston, Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner. Pub.: Bode, 120; Klassiker der Kunst, 162.
24. Portrait of Saskia. About 1633. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 153; Klassiker der Kunst, 129; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 81.
25. Portrait of a Young Man. About 1633. New York, Collection of the late Mrs. Morris K. Jesup. Pub.: Bode, 90; Klassiker der Kunst, 90; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 82.
26. Portrait of a Young Woman. About 1633. New York, Collection of the late Mrs. Morris K. Jesup. Pub.: Bode, 91; Klassiker der Kunst, 91; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 83.
27. Portrait of a Man. 1634. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Pub.: Bode, 111; Klassiker der Kunst, 201.
28. Portrait of a Woman. 1634. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Pub.: Bode, 112; Klassiker der Kunst, 201.
29. The Finding of Moses. About 1635. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Bode, 195; Klassiker der Kunst, 167; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 86; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 474.
30. Study of an old Man. 1635. New York, Collection of W. B. Leeds. Pub.: Bode, 104; Klassiker der Kunst, 190.

31. Portrait of a Rabbi. About 1635. Tuxedo Park, Collection of Ambrose Monell. Pub.: Bode, 202; Klassiker der Kunst, 187.
32. Portrait of an Elderly Woman. 1635. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 224; Klassiker der Kunst, 224.
33. Portrait of Saskia. 1635. New York, Collection of S. R. Bertron. Pub.: Bode, 154; Klassiker der Kunst, 130.
34. Portrait of Saskia. 1636. Pittsburg, Collection of Mrs. A. M. Byers. Pub.: Bode, 156; Klassiker der Kunst, 132.
35. The Slaughtered Ox. 1637. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Bode, 575; Klassiker der Kunst, 230; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 87; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 475.
36. Study of a Man. About 1643-5. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 476.
37. Portrait of an Elderly Man. 1638. New York, Collection of Philip Lehman. Pub.: Bode, 273; Klassiker der Kunst, 252.
38. Landscape with an Obelisk. About 1638. Boston, Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner. Pub.: Bode, 230; Klassiker der Kunst, 231.
39. Portrait of Herman Doomer (known as "Rembrandt's Gilder"). 1640. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 175; Klassiker der Kunst, Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 88.
40. Portrait of an old Woman. 1640. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 278; Klassiker der Kunst, 256; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue 89.
41. Portrait of a Man. 1641. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 277; Klassiker der Kunst, 264.
42. The Toilet of Bathsheba. 1643. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 246; Klassiker der Kunst, 228.

43. Portrait of a Man. 1643. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 286; Klassiker der Kunst, 270.
44. Portrait of a Young Man. 1643. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: W. Bode, 266; Klassiker der Kunst, 271.
45. Portrait of a Young Woman. 1643. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer. Pub.: Bode, 267; Klassiker der Kunst, 271.
46. Portrait of a Jew. Study. About 1643-45. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Bode, 579; Klassiker der Kunst, 356; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 477.
47. Portrait of a Man. 1644. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 271; Klassiker der Kunst, 273.
48. A Girl Behind a Door. 1645. Chicago, Art Institute. Pub.: Bode, 301; Klassiker der Kunst, 323; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 91.
49. Portrait of the Artist. About 1645. New York, Collection of H. L. Terell. Pub.: Bode, 260; Klassiker der Kunst, 316; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 90.
50. Study of an old Man (King Saul). About 1645. Boston, Collection of Quincy A. Shaw. Pub.: Bode, 578; Klassiker der Kunst, 363.
51. A Girl Showing a Medal. About 1645. Cincinnati, Collection of Mrs. Thomas J. Emery. Pub.: Bode, 303; Klassiker der Kunst, 321.
52. Study of an old Man. About 1645. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1909.
53. Christ on the Cross. Sketch. About 1646. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Bode, 518; Klassiker der Kunst, 246; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 478. Original of the old copy in the collection of Léon Bonnat. Pub.: Bode, 318; Klassiker der Kunst, 286.

54. Portrait of a Painter (Jan van Cappelle?). 1647. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. Pub.: Bode, 365; Klassiker der Kunst, 345.
55. The Mill. About 1650. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 345; Klassiker der Kunst, 313.
56. The Philosopher. About 1650. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 582; Klassiker der Kunst, 365; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 96.
57. Portrait of an old Man. 1650. New York, Collection of George J. Gould. Pub.: Bode, 376; Klassiker der Kunst, 366; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 95.
58. Portrait of the Artist. 1650. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 346; Klassiker der Kunst, 319; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 94.
59. Study of an old Man. About 1651. New York, Collection of Michael Friedsam. Pub.: A. Dayot, Grands et Petits Maîtres Hollandaïs (Paris, 1911), 135.
60. Portrait of an old Woman. 1652. Cincinnati, Collection of Charles P. Taft. Pub.: Bode, 584; Klassiker der Kunst, 349.
61. Virgil (?) 1653. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry E. Huntington. Pub.: Bode, 385; Klassiker der Kunst, 426; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 97.
62. Portrait of a Young Man. About 1654 (according to Bode, 1665). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Pub.: Bode, 495; Klassiker der Kunst, 507; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 107.
63. The Woman Taken in Adultery. About 1654. Minneapolis, Collection of T. B. Walker. Pub.: Bode, 338; Klassiker der Kunst, 537; Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1912.
64. The Polish Rider. About 1655. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. Pub.: Bode, 466; Klassiker der Kunst, 435.
65. Portrait of Titus. 1655. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 442; Klassiker der Kunst, 413.

66. Portrait of a Young Artist. About 1655. New York, Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Pub.: Bode, 364; Klassiker der Kunst, 346; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 93.

67. Portrait of a Jew. About 1655. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. According to Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, possibly by Karel Fabritius. Pub.: Bode, 473; Klassiker der Kunst, 431; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 479.

68. Portrait of a Man. 1655. Montreal, Collection of James Ross. Pub.: Bode, 448; Klassiker der Kunst, 433; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 99.

69. Portrait of an old Man. About 1655. Washington, Collection of W. A. Slater. Pub.: Bode, 470; Klassiker der Kunst, 431; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 100.

70. Christ. Bust. 1656. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Bode, 412; Klassiker der Kunst, 390; Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 480.

71. The Sibyl. About 1656. Newport, R. I., Collection of Theodore M. Davis. Pub.: Bode, 528; Klassiker der Kunst, 386; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 101.

72. St. Paul. About 1656. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 382; Klassiker der Kunst, 384.

73. Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels. About 1656. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1909.

74. Study of an old Woman. 1657. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 472; Klassiker der Kunst, 440.

75. Portrait of a Jew. About 1657. New York, Collection of Otto H. Kahn. Pub.: Bode, 407; Klassiker der Kunst, 388.

76. Jupiter and Mercury. 1658. New York, Collection of Otto H. Kahn. Pub.: Bode, 407; Klassiker der Kunst, 388.

77. Portrait of the Artist. 1658. New York, Collection of Henry C. Frick. Pub.: Bode, 428; Klassiker der Kunst, 400; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 102.

78. Woman Trimming Her Nails. 1658. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 477; Klassiker der Kunst, 444.

79. Portrait of Titus (so-called Portrait of the Auctioneer, Haring). 1658. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 458; Klassiker der Kunst, 417.

80. Portrait of a Man. 1659. Rochester, Collection of George Eastman. Pub.: Bode, 461; Klassiker der Kunst, 447.

81. Portrait of a Young Man. About 1660. Rochester, Collection of George Eastman. Pub.: Bode, 455; Klassiker der Kunst, 491.

82. Hendrickje Stoffels. 1660. New York, Collection of Mrs. Henry E. Huntington. Pub.: Bode, 438; Klassiker der Kunst, 411.

83. Portrait of the Artist. About 1660. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 429; Klassiker der Kunst, 411.

84. Portrait of a Jew. 1661. Montreal, Collection of Sir William Van Horne. Pub.: Bode, 509; Klassiker der Kunst, 498.

85. Head of an old Man. Study. About 1661. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 592; Klassiker der Kunst, 455.

86. Pilgrim at Prayer. 1661. Toledo, Collection of John N. Willis. Pub.: Bode, 485; Klassiker der Kunst, 457.

87. The Circumcision. 1661. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 518; Klassiker der Kunst, 465.

88. Portrait of a Man. About 1662. Philadelphia, Collection of P. A. B. Widener. Pub.: Bode, 487; Klassiker der Kunst, 500.

89. Portrait of an old Man (Dirk van Os). About 1662. Boston, Collection of Frederick O. Sears. Pub.: Bode, 494; Klassiker der Kunst, 501.

90. The Accountant. About 1663. New York, Collection of Charles M. Schwab. Pub.: Bode, 526; Klassiker der Kunst, 502; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 104.
91. Portrait of an Elderly Man. 1665. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Pub.: Bode, 496; Klassiker der Kunst, 506; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 106.
92. Pilate Washing His Hands. About 1665. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 532; Klassiker der Kunst, 468.
93. Portrait of Magdalena van Loo, Wife of Titus. About 1666. Montreal, Collection of R. B. Angus. Pub.: Bode, 537; Klassiker der Kunst, 486.
94. Portrait of Titus (?). About 1668. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 535; Klassiker der Kunst, 482; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 107A.
95. Portrait of Magdalena van Loo, Wife of Titus (?). About 1668. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Altman Collection). Pub.: Bode, 536; Klassiker der Kunst, 483; Hudson-Fulton Exhibition Catalogue, 107B.

Opinions differ in regard to the authenticity of the following paintings:

1. An Artist in His Studio. (Portrait of Rembrandt himself?) Possibly an early work of about 1626. New York, Collection of William M. Chase. Not yet published.
2. The Blind Tobias and His Wife. Possibly an early work of 1626. Engraved by W. de Leeuw in the time of Rembrandt. Accepted by Bredius. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. Pub.: Catalogue of the Johnson Collection, 482.
3. The Resurrection of Lazarus. About 1632. New York, Collection of W. Gates. Pub.: Bode, 45; Klassiker der Kunst, 12. A better example is in the possession of Charles Sedelmeyer of Paris.

4. St. Francis at Prayer. Philadelphia, Collection of John G. Johnson. From the Duc d'Orléans Collection. Pub.: Smith, Catalogue Raisonné, 133. An almost identical picture, dated 1637, is in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit of London. Pub.: Bode, 218.
5. Landscape. 1639. Montreal, Collection of Sir William Van Horne. Pub.: Hofstede de Groot, Onze Kunst, 1909.

A statistical comparison of the sales of paintings by Rembrandt in different countries within the last few years shows the proportion to be as follows: America has added to its possessions thirty-four paintings — thirty-two by acquisition, two by discovery — and has lost two; Germany has added eleven — ten by acquisition, one by discovery — and has lost four; England has added eight — two by acquisition, six by discovery — and has lost twenty; France has added three — two by acquisition, one by discovery — and has lost eighteen. This shows that America is far ahead in the number of its acquisitions as compared with other countries, and that Germany comes next while England and France have suffered most from the loss of masterpieces by Rembrandt.

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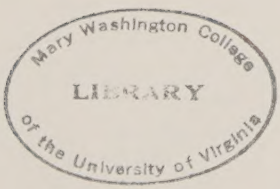
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